HISTORY

OF THE

INSURRECTION,

IN THE

FOUR WESTERN COUNTIES

OF

PENNSYLVANIA:

IN THE YEAR M.DCC.XCIV.

WITH A RECITAL OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES SPECIALLY CONNECTED THEREWITH:

AND AN

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE PREVIOUS SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY.

BY WILLIAM FINDLEY,

MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH,
No. 118, CHESNUT-STREET.

M.DCC.XCVI.

46
7 30
73.
BRITISH MUSEUM

COPY-RIGHT SECURED, IN CONFORMITY
TO ACT OF CONGRESS.

PREFACE.

PERHAPS there is no nation on the earth, that has in ſo ſhort a period experienced ſuch various and intereſting ſcenes as the people of the United States. Compoſed as they are of individual adventurers from different nations, or the deſcendants of ſuch, and bringing with them the various habits and languages of the nations to which they had reſpectively belonged, braving the horrors of the wilderneſs, and combating unaided with ſavage tribes, they aſſociated together in ſmall dependent republics, and always admitted the emigrants from other nations to a participation of their privileges, and emigrants of different nations and languages attached themſelves to the ſociety and ſoil, and ſoon learned to embrace the country as if it had been their native land. The colonies adapted their laws to their own ſituation and circumſtances, and all of them preſerved a love of liberty and equality in their ſocial order. Though the ſeeds of jealouſy were artfully ſown among them by the power on whom they were dependent, yet watchful againſt thoſe inſidious arts, they united to vindicate their rights againſt the aggreſſions of that very power, whoſe authority they were accuſtomed to acknowledge, and by their exertions finally triumphed over it, till they aſſumed a rank and ſtation among the independent nations of the earth. They not only formed conſtitutions and laws, for the internal police of their

reſpective ſtates, but for the government of the whole, in a national capacity, and changed and reviſed not only their laws, but the forms and powers of their gov ernment, without an appeal to arms, and without the effects of thoſe changes operating any ſenſible alteration in the circumſtances of the people, nd thus exhibited a ſpectacle, new and intereſting in the hiſtory of human events.

The citizens, being thus collected from various nations, or from ſuch different parts of the ſame nation as had little correſpondence with each other, and their character being influenced by a continual ſucceſſion of emigrants, they ſeem to have formed a character peculiar to themſelves, and in ſome reſpects diſtinct from that of other nations. Indeed though they emigrated from different nations, they were generally of the ſame rank in ſociety. None of the privileged orders of Europe viſited the colonies, except as governors of provinces, when the government of a province became, by the induſtry of the planters, an object ſufficient for the ſupport of a lord, whoſe anceſtors had diſſipated the family eſtate, or who enjoyed a noble title without a patrimony. Privileged orders never made a part of the maſs in the colonial ſettlements, and the ſettlers derive their dignity and importance, through the natural and honourable channels of prudence and induſtry.

Perhaps no part of the American character is more prominent than that of mildneſs of temper; even their mobs and riots are accompanied with leſs ferocity, and marked with fewer inſtances of bloodſhed, than thoſe of any other nation. Even during that period at the commencement of the revolution, when the regular governments gave way to what in the language of law was called a government of mobs, or committees acting according to diſcretion, and under peculiar circumſtances of irritation, occaſioned by the oppoſition of the adherents to the old government, yet the public peace was preſerved and property ſecured, and the ſeverities towards the oppoſers of the revolution were more mild than has been exhibited by any other nation in ſimilar circumſtances.

During a tedious war, in which the citizens generally were at one time or other perſonally engaged, there was an unavoidable relaxation of morals, and of the execution of the laws, yet notwithſtanding this circumſtance, the weakneſs of the general government, and the preſſure of an accumulating debt, which neceſſarily occaſioned oppreſſive taxes on the people, and diſcontent among the creditors, I ſay theſe imperious circumſtances were ſo well borne during the continuance of the confederation, that there was no ſymptom of an inſurrection, except in one inſtance in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts. Though this inſurrection is acknowledged to have been excited by very oppreſſive taxes, and to have been long premeditated and well digeſted, and occaſioned conſiderable alarm for ſome time, yet it was finally ſettled almoſt without bloodſhed, or occaſioning any laſting confuſion. That under ſo great a change as was made by the reviſion of the federal government, and the new extenſion of its fiſcal powers to internal objects of taxation, and the operation of theſe powers on ſubjects, and in modes, againſt which the people in moſt of the ſtates had the ſtrongeſt prepoſſeſſions, it being only known to them by the odium of its name, and that odium having been ſtrongly ſanctioned by the firſt Congreſs, and the law, from not having provided for extending the judicial authority of the federal government, being ill calculated for the convenient protection of the fiſcal officers, or citizens aggrieved by their means, I ſay that, under ſuch circumſtances, violent oppoſition ſhould have been given but in one diſtant ſurvey, affords a further proof of the mildneſs of the American character, and of a prevailing love of order and reſpect for the authority of the laws; and if even this inſtance was unpremeditated and deſultory, and might have been eaſily prevented by a proper and ſeaſonable application of the means provided by law, and if when all the circumſtances are taken into view, and proper allowances made for the indiſcretions of thoſe who took a temporary lead in the exceſſes, and for the uſual appearances of human nature in a

ſtate of extreme agitation; I ſay, when all theſe circumſtances are conſidered maturely, and proper allowances made, I apprehend the inſurrection in the weſtern counties of Pennſylvania will not form a very ſtrong exception to the mildneſs of the American character.

Having been an early actor in, and an attentive obſerver of, the American revolution and its conſequences, and having been under early apprehenſions, that the introduction of the exciſe ſyſtem without competent arrangements for the prompt execution of it would put the American character to a new teſt, and theſe apprehenſions being excited by the deep rooted prejudices which I knew to have always exiſted againſt it in the weſtern country, where providence had ordered my lot, I was anxious to procure a repeal of the law, or, that not appearing to be then attainable, to have it ſo modified as to give the leaſt poſſible cauſe of irritation. I was attentive, as far as I had an opportunity to impreſs the people with whom I correſponded, with a ſenſe of the danger of riots, and to adviſe thoſe intruſted with the execution of the laws to purſue ſuch meaſures as might ſeaſonably diſcourage a diſpoſition to violent oppoſition; but my advice to this purpoſe not being taken, I ſat down in ſolemn ſilence, to wait the event. And unfortunately, that event happened which my fears had in ſome meaſure anticipated, and which I had for ſome time ſuſpected was deſired by ſome, who appear to have been much better acquainted, than I was, with the diſpoſition that led to the inſurrection, and were poſſeſſed of the means of preventing it. I was more fortunate, however, in my private correſpondents; for, with one lonely exception, they were all uniformly friends of order.

Such an extraordinary event happening ſo near to the place of my reſidence, and among a people who then formed a part of my immediate conſtituents, and ſuddenly ſpreading its influence over a conſiderable extent of country, and involving not only the actors, but thoſe who endeavoured to quench the ſpreading flame, and even ſuch as ſtudied to act the part of

neutral obſervers, in anxiety and dread, and determining thoſe who adminiſtered the government to have recourſe to the phyſical power of the nation, ſeemed to me a proper ſubject for hiſtorical inveſtigation.

I conceived, that a record of the inſurrection, and of the circumſtances which led to it; and the events connected with it, might be of uſe, to teach the citizens in other places, and perhaps in future times, the danger of ſmall beginnings in making oppoſition to eſtabliſhed laws, and of connecting their reſpect to the government, with the prejudices they may entertain againſt perſons in office, or even with their prepoſſeſſions againſt particular laws. It may alſo teach the lovers of order, the impropriety of affecting a neutrality of conduct, in the time of civil convulſion. They will diſcover, that if a ſpirit of diſorder is permitted to prevail, no character or intereſt in ſociety will be ſecured from its effects. And that if government is reduced to the neceſſity of extraordinary efforts, even the innocent may not always be ſecure from hardſhips in the reſult.

A knowledge of theſe events may be of uſe even to thoſe who are intruſted with the adminiſtration of the government, if ſuch a criſis ſhould ever again happen, or rather for the ſalutary purpoſe of guarding againſt ſuch emergencies.

If a record of caſes in the practice of medicine is of uſe for the prevention or cure of diſeaſes in the animal ſyſtem, certainly a knowledge of the diſeaſes which ſometimes ſhake the political frame may be of future advantage, for preventing or correcting ſuch events. This is the more neceſſary in ſuch a government as ours, the ſtability and proſperity of which depend ſo much on the confidence of the citizens at large.

I had many reaſons for wiſhing this work to have been performed by ſome other hand. To write impartially of tranſactions, wherein ſo many living characters are concerned, is not a very deſirable work, and can ſcarcely fail of being cenſured by ſome. However, being conſcious that I am not in-

fluenced by hopes or fears, and being at a time, and in a ſituation of life, that leaves me little to dread or hope, from the frowns or favours of party, or of men in power, I have ſtudied impartiality in the characters I have delineated, and the facts which I have ſtated; and I have ſought after truth with the utmoſt ſolicitude. Indeed, I have declined introducing ſuch perſons by name, eſpecially, where there was any thing diſagreeable attached to their character, as were not already rendered very prominent in theſe tranſactions.

A hiſtory of the weſtern inſurrection is alſo neceſſary, to correct wrong information that is gone abroad concerning it. Indeed, the citizens of the United States, having no authentic channels, through which to derive information concerning it, can form their opinion only from deſultory and unconnected reports, and if there are any, who through prejudice or any other motive, have ſtudiouſly miſrepreſented ſome material circumſtances reſpecting it, or injured the characters of any of the agents engaged one way or other in it, the neceſſity that there ſhould be ſome reſponſible ſtandard for correcting ſuch miſtakes, whether they are wilful or inadvertent, is the greater.

I was ſoon convinced of the neceſſity of ſuch a work, and early turned my attention towards making preparations for it, but delayed the execution in hopes, that ſome other perſon would undertake it; but finding that no perſon engaged in it, on a plan ſufficiently extenſive, I reſumed the taſk, but ſuppreſſed a number of incidents, which, though they were intereſting in themſelves, were not eſſential to the underſtanding of the general ſubject, the retaining of which would have ſwelled the work too much. Many more of theſe than I intended to inſert are to be found related in a very entertaining manner, in a work written by Mr. Brackenridge, which being, however, chiefly confined to what fell under his own obſervation, is not ſufficiently extenſive in its plan to ſuperſede the neceſſity of this work. In ſome few inſtances, the facts are differently

ſtated. In ſeveral inſtances, I have myſelf had occaſion to correct the information on which I firſt depended.

No part of theſe tranſactions have been more miſrepreſented, than the conferences of the commiſſioners from the ſecond Parkiſon ferry meeting, with the Preſident of the United States, at Carliſle, and this ſeems to have been done with a criminal deſign. Aware, that ſome miſrepreſentations might be made (though not of the extent to which they have been carried), Mr. Redick and myſelf were attentive in keeping the diſcourſes in memory, and had frequently, both ſeparately, and together, repeated the ſubſtance of them, but particularly, thoſe delivered at the meeting convened at Parkiſon's ferry to receive the report of our miſſion. I wrote out the ſubſtance of the diſcourſes delivered in the various conferences with the Preſident, and ſent them to Mr. Redick for his correction, before I inſerted them in this work. Though the Preſident expreſſed himſelf more largely than is here inſerted, yet we only ſtudied to preſerve the ſcope and as nearly in his own language as we could.

However neceſſary it was for my own vindication, to introduce my own name and character ſo much in the latter part of this work, I would not have troubled the reader with it, if my conduct, and the conduct of ſome of my friends, had not been evidently miſrepreſented, with a view to caſt an odium on Republican principles.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I. *The first settlement of the country—Competition of the claims of Virginia and Pennsylvania, occasions difficulty, but is settled without violence,* Page 17
CHAP. II. *Operation of the excise law of the state,* 26
CHAP. III. *Federal excise, opposition to its execution, by meetings, resolves, &c.* 37
CHAP. IV. *A digression on the right of holding political meetings, and of petitioning—The Mingo creek association.* 47
CHAP. V. *Riots committed, previous to the insurrection,* 58
CHAP. VI. *The protection afforded to officers and complying citizens by the head of the revenue department, was calculated rather to excite than to suppress opposition,* 63
CHAP. VII. *Some peculiar causes of resentment against the inspector,* 77
CHAP. VIII. *Commencement of the insurrection—Mingo creek meeting—The mail robbed—Rendezvous ordered—Characters of those who issued the order delineated—Description of the rendezvous at Braddock's field—Riots against the collectors Wells and Webster,* 84
CHAP. IX. *First Parkison's ferry meeting—Arrival of the commissioners—Meeting of conferees at Pittsburgh,* 110
CHAP. X. *Meeting at Redstone Old Fort. Special circumstances which prevented its success,* 121

CHAP. XI. *Second conference with the commiſſioners at Pittſburgh—Terms of amneſty—The people ſign them—Objections to ſigning them—Some riots—Second meeting at Parkiſon's ferry—Commiſſioners ſent to the Preſident with more explicit aſſurances,* Page 129

CHAP. XII. *Inflammatory temper of the army at Carliſle—Two men killed—The Preſident's influence in correcting that temper,* 140

CHAP. XIII. *Obſervations on the ſtructure of the army—An enquiry whether a militia or mercenary army is ſafeſt to be employed in ſupporting the civil magiſtrate—Extraneous cauſes of inflammation in the army,* 153

CHAP. XIV. *Interviews of the commiſſioners ſent by the Parkiſon ferry meeting, with the Preſident of the United States at Carliſle,* 169

CHAP. XV. *Laſt meeting at Parkiſon ferry—Commiſſioners ſent from it, wait on the ſecretary of the treaſury and the commander in chief, with unequivocal aſſurances taken at the muſters and reſolved by the meeting—The commander in chief's anſwer.* 190

CHAP. XVI. *Proceedings of the judiciary—conduct of different corps in executing judicial proceſs—Of general White—The number, character and fate of the priſoners,* 200

CHAP. XVII. *Peculiar circumſtances in which the judiciary was placed,* 216

CHAP. XVIII. *Influence and authority exerciſed by the ſecretary of the treaſury—The caſes of major Powers, and ſheriff Hamilton,* 223

CHAP. XIX. *The ſecretary holds an inquiſition in order to criminate Meſſrs. Smilie, Gallatin, and myſelf. He and general White aſſert falſehoods reſpecting my character,* 238

CHAP. XX. *A narrative of my own conduct reſpecting the federal government; the exciſe law and the inſurrection,* Page 256

CHAP. XXI. *Animadverſions on the ſecretary's report to the Preſident,* 291

CHAP. XXII. *An inquiry, whether the inſurrection was the reſult of a preconcerted plan, and whether the expedition was neceſſary to reſtore order in the weſtern counties, or to accompliſh other objects; together with extracts from the correſpondence between the governor of Pennſylvania and the ſecretary of ſtate on the ſubject of the inſurrection,* 303

Appendix, 315

HISTORY

OF THE

INSURRECTION, &c.

CHAP. I.

IF the numerous difficulties encountered and hardſhips ſuſtained, by the people inhabiting the weſtern counties of Pennſylvania, were to be minutely related, and their behaviour under them fairly ſtated, their conduct generally would be entitled to a much greater proportion of approbation than blame, and their ſufferings would have a powerful claim on the ſympathy of their fellow citizens. But it is not my intention to give a hiſtory of the peculiar circumſtances, with which the firſt ſettlement and progreſs of that country was accompanied. A very ſuperficial

ſketch of it, however, will be neceſſary to the right underſtanding of the circumſtances which influenced thoſe diſorders, which in the year 1794 roſe to ſuch a height as to be denominated an Inſurrection.

As ſoon as General Boquet had eſtabliſhed peace with the Indians north-weſt of the Ohio, in the year 1766, a number of people commenced a ſettlement on the lands adjacent to Redſtone creek, which empties into the Monongahela river, about forty miles above its junction with the Allegany at Pittſburgh.

The boundary line not being then run between Pennſylvania and Virginia, and the land not having been purchaſed from the Indians, no legal title could be obtained for land, but it was well known that both provinces had always admitted the right of pre-emption to thoſe who had ſettled and improved on the land, previous to warrants having iſſued for it to any other perſons.

The proprietary of Pennſylvania having, in the year 1768, purchaſed the country from the Indians as far weſt as the Allegany and Ohio rivers, opened an office for the ſale of thoſe lands on the 3d of April 1769. When the office was opened he made proclamation, and inſtructed his ſurveyors to reſpect the lands of actual ſettlers who had improved to the value of five pounds, and not to ſurvey them on warrants (or locations) of a date poſterior to the ſettlements, except to thoſe by whom the ſettlements were made.

Favoured by this indulgence, which however was uſual in both provinces, few of thoſe who lived adjacent to the Monongahela, and had already occupied the lands, applied to the office for locations or

warrants. They were not certain to which province the ſoil belonged, and probably had a ſecret wiſh that it ſhould belong to Virginia; becauſe in that caſe it would coſt them but about one fourteenth part of the price for which land was ſold in Pennſylvania, and men eaſily believe according to their wiſhes.

In or about the year 1774, governor Lord Dunmore opened ſeveral offices for the ſale of land within the bounds of what are now called the four weſtern counties of Pennſylvania. The warrants were granted on paying two ſhillings and ſix-pence fees: The purchaſe money was trifling, being only ten ſhillings per hundred acres, and even that was not demanded. This was an effectual inducement to apply to Dunmore's agents in preference to the Pennſylvania land-office; the land being the property of the king was at the diſpoſal of the governor, who alſo procured a court of Virginia to be extended to the Ohio, and in a ſhort time two county courts were held ſouth of the Monongahela, and one north of it at Redſtone old fort, all of them within the territory ſince aſcertained to belong to Pennſylvania. Lord Dunmore alſo commenced an unprovoked war againſt the Indians then at peace, and led out an expedition againſt their towns, in defence of which a ſevere battle was fought at the mouth of the great Kenhawa; in which, though the Indians were defeated, the white people loſt a number of men.

From the firſt ſettlement of this territory the inhabitants had ſuffered by occaſional predatory excurſions of the Indians, but there had been no general war with them. It was well underſtood that the deſign of

the Britiſh governor was to embroil the colonies with each other, and to produce a general Indian war, in order to turn their attention from the rapid progreſs of Britiſh encroachments, or weaken their confidence in each other, and oblige them to exhauſt their ſtrength in an Indian war. Though he failed in the firſt, he was too ſucceſsful in the laſt; for his wanton attack on the Indians laid the foundation for that ſavage enmity which they diſplayed in their ceaſeleſs depredations committed on the weſtern frontiers during the whole courſe of the revolutionary war, and which probably is not yet extinguiſhed.

The governor of Pennſylvania having opened the land-office in April 1769, ſeveral thouſands of locations were applied for on the firſt day. The greateſt number of theſe was taken for land laying north of the Monongahela, in what yet continues to be Weſtmoreland county, to the greater part of which the claim of Virginia was never ſuppoſed to extend, and great numbers made actual ſettlements in that country without any office rights. This ſettlement was very rapidly extended under Pennſylvania, as far north as Crooked creek, above forty miles north of the Monongahela, and the firſt ſettlers were generally a more ſober, orderly people, than commonly happens in the firſt ſettlement of new countries. A great proportion of them were farmer's ſons, or farmers themſelves, with riſing families, who emigrated from the old counties, and who were generally acquainted with each other.

The legiſlature erected all the country weſt of the Laurel-hill into a county by the name of Weſtmore-

land, but did not fix a permanent ſeat of juſtice, on account of the unſettled ſtate of the country. The courts were proviſionally held at Hanna's-town, about three miles north of Greenſburgh, the preſent county town. This county was erected ſome years previous to the extenſion of the Virginia courts into that country.

After the Virginia courts were erected a ſtrange ſtate of ſociety was produced, in that part of Weſtmoreland county which now forms the counties of Waſhington and Fayette, and that part of Allegany which lies ſouth of the Monongahela. Juſtices of the peace, who were then judges of the court in both ſtates, held commiſſions under, and executed the laws of, their reſpective ſtates, in ſuch a manner as that magiſtrates, militia officers, &c. exerciſed their authority over the people in the ſame ſettlement, according as they made their election of ſubmitting to the one or the other. Many ſubmitted alternately to the one or the other, as it comported with their intereſt or their caprice, and it is reaſonable to believe that by many neither was well ſubmitted to. This relaxed ſtate of ſociety encouraged a greater number of ungovernable people to ſettle among them than otherwiſe would have done.

When the boundary line was amicably ſettled towards the end of the Britiſh war, a number of thoſe who had imbibed the greateſt prejudice againſt the laws of Pennſylvania, together with thoſe who were offended at the high price, which thoſe who had always adhered to Pennſylvania were obliged to pay for their land, projected a plan for erecting a new ſtate.

By the terms of ſettling the boundary every perſon was to hold his land on the terms under which he had firſt ſettled. The new ſtate ſcheme being made treaſonable by a law of Pennſylvania, was no further attempted, but many of thoſe who had ſtrong prejudices againſt the government of Pennſylvania, ſold their plantations, and gave place to others.

During the whole time of the war with Britain, and for ſome time after it ceaſed, the country was cruelly waſted by perpetual ſavage depredations. The frontier was equally expoſed on all ſides, round the whole extent of the country, except perhaps a few miles on the eaſt, near Youghiogany river. The whole of what is now Weſtmoreland and Allegany counties, except a very few townſhips, was either actually laid waſte, or the inhabitants obliged to ſhelter themſelves in forts. The then county town of Weſtmoreland was attacked in the time of court, and though the records were preſerved, yet the town, with moſt of the property it contained, was burnt; a number were alſo killed and taken priſoners. The Indians were ſo numerous as to afford juſt ground to apprehend that they would deſtroy the other ſtations, where people were collected, and a detached party did kill ſeveral at the next ſtation; however the firing, which was continued in platoons againſt the fort all that day, was ſo loud as to be heard diſtinctly at eight or nine miles diſtance. This, with the alarm given by thoſe who eſcaped from the court, put the people in the interior part of the country on their guard. At this time it was uſual with the Indians to attack thoſe ſettlements in great force, accompanied by the militia of Canada.

But though the northern frontier of this country was thus perpetually harraſſed, thoſe in the more ſouthwardly ſettlements were by no means exempted from their ſhare of the general diſtreſs. Scarcely a neighbourhood in that whole extent of country, where ſavage cruelty could not be diſtinctly traced by the deſtruction of property and the blood of the inhabitants. The competition between the two rival governments, by preventing their union and ſyſtem, greatly weakened their exertions in the common defence, and it was near the cloſe of the war, before any accommodation was likely to take place by arrangements being made for an amicable adjuſtment of the boundary line.

Though this ſtate of ſociety was extremely diſagreeable, and naturally invited to the diſplay of an ungovernable diſpoſition, and in fact prevented proper meaſures for promoting the education of youth, and while it continued diſcouraged miniſters of the goſpel from ſettling in the country, yet it muſt be acknowledged, that notwithſtanding the party animoſity, the controverſy was conducted with a milder ſpirit than has been uſually diſcovered in ſimilar ſituations. Though there were ſome inſtances of oppoſition to the execution of the laws of the interfering ſtates, yet there were no outrageous riots, no lives loſt, no deſtruction of property. One perſon indeed loſt his life at Pittſburgh in a party quarrel, but it was a private quarrel, not a riot. On the whole, crimes do not appear to have been more frequent there than in places where ſuch circumſtances did not exiſt. I went to reſide in the weſtern country about the time this con-

troverſy was near the concluſion, and obſerved a good deal of heat and animoſity, but no violence, nor traces of it.

How different was this from other conteſts of the ſame nature. The bloodſhed and violence committed in the controverſy about the boundary line between Pennſylvania and Maryland, are ſtill remembered by the name of the Conejaghally war; ſome of the heroes, who gained their military fame by their exertions in that war, have not been many years deceaſed.

The conteſt between Pennſylvania and the Connecticut claimants has occaſioned bloodſhed and numerous acts of outrageous violence, both before and ſince the revolution. And notwithſtanding the decree of a court of Congreſs, determining the right of territory to be in Pennſylvania, yet that ſtate has, ſince the decree of ſettlement, been obliged to ſend different military expeditions into that country. Though conſiderable ſeverity has marked the progreſs of ſome of theſe expeditions, yet they have not proved adequate to the object. Recourſe has been had to quieting laws; but theſe, though made on the moſt generous principles, have been defeated by the claimants in whoſe favour they were made, and the commiſſioners of peace obliged to ſave their lives by flight, or be taken priſoners. Even Mr. Pickering, the then prothonotary of Luzerne county, but now the ſecretary of ſtate, when deciding on a beneficent law, which he had done much to procure in their favour, was violently ſeized and detained many days a priſoner in the woods, from whence he with difficulty eſcaped.

Nor has this controverſy yet ſubſided. A Pennſylvanian dare not even now ſettle on his own land. One who lately attempted it was ſhot in his lodging, and though, in the opinion of the court, the murder was fully proved, a verdict could not be obtained againſt the criminal. A combination has long exiſted, and ſtill does exiſt, in that country, in declared oppoſition to the laws, and too ſtrong for the ordinary powers of the civil magiſtrate.

How different this from the conduct of the people in the weſtern counties. There, there was no neceſſity to call to their aid the authority of Congreſs, no armies had to be marched againſt them, nor any unconſtitutional laws paſſed impairing the rights of contract in their favour. They ſubmitted to the deciſions of the ordinary courts of the reſpective ſtates, if not wholly without murmuring, yet without flagrant oppoſition or perſonal violence.

CHAP. II.

Of the State Exciſe Law.

UNDER the colonial government of Pennſylvania, in the year 1756, an exciſe had been levied on imported ſpirits. The legiſlatures of the colonies, having no power to levy impoſts at the ports, took that method of diſcouraging the conſumption of foreign ſpirits and raiſing a revenue from it. The law was enacteſt for a limited time, and the revenue ariſing from it appropriated to the redemption of certain bills of credit. In March 1772, the former exciſe law was revived, and the tax was extended not only to wine, rum, and brandy, but to ſpirits diſtilled from the natural products of the province, excepting what was for the private uſe of the owner.

I never have underſtood that the law as far as it reſpected domeſtic produce was executed. I knew nothing of it at the time, and though I was acquainted with many diſtillers, I never heard of an exciſeman viſiting them. I have made enquiry, ſince that

time, of many who were born and reſided in different counties of the province, ſome of whom had ſtills, and cannot diſcover that they knew any thing about the execution of that part of the law. Probably all that was diſtilled from domeſtic produce was conſidered as for the uſe of the owner, and this was indeed, in a great meaſure, the caſe, for the citizens took their rye and malt to the ſtill, nearly on the ſame principles as they took their griſt to the mill, and paid for the diſtillation either in kind or an equivalent in money. At this time rum diſtilled from molaſſes became an article of great conſumption; it was purchaſed at from two ſhillings to two and ſixpence per gallon by the barrel; and as it coſt the farmers nothing to bring it home in the waggons with which they hawled out their flour, they found it to be more profitable than their own whiſkey.

In the time of the revolutionary war, when neither foreign rum nor molaſſes could be imported, the demand for domeſtic diſtilled ſpirits for the army and for general conſumption became exceeding great, and the manufacturing of it became ſo profitable, that not only the rye but a great quantity of wheat was conſumed by diſtillation. In many parts of the country you could ſcarcely get out of ſight of the ſmoke of a ſtill-houſe. The citizens became alarmed, leſt the army ſhould ſuffer for want of bread for the troops, and forage for the horſes. The clergy from the pulpits, and in ſome inſtances by judicial warnings of preſbyteries, inveighed againſt this alarming deſtruction of bread from the army and the poor, and againſt the ſtill-houſes, as the general nurſeries of intoxication

and licentiouſneſs. There was no law then in force to prevent diſtillers from ſelling in ſmall quantities, conſequently thoſe who loved to get drunk at a ſmall expence, reſorted to the ſtills. The manners of our youth were much endangered by the number of the ſtills, and by aſſociating with ſuch as uſually reſorted to theſe recepticles of vice. The army ſoon felt the effects of this waſte of grain to an alarming degree.

In March 1779, the aſſembly enacted a law to prevent the diſtillation of all kinds of grain or meal, but in October following it was repealed ſo far as to permit the diſtillation of rye and barley. The vaſt number of hands employed in the militia and ſtanding army had leſſened the number of labouring hands; the low price of grain at the beginning of the war had diſcouraged the farmers, and many through the ſtate, who were diſaffected to the revolution, or principled againſt war, had raiſed leſs grain than uſual, with a deſign to prevent the army from being ſupplied. Theſe circumſtances, added to the conſumption by diſtillation, gave ſuch a ſerious alarm as rendered it neceſſary not only to diſcourage the diſtilling of grain, but to lay an embargo on the exportation of grain and flour in the port of Philadelphia. Diſtillation, by the abuſes attending it, and exorbitant profits made by it, was become unpopular, and the neceſſity of a revenue was become extremely urgent to preſerve the exiſtence of the government itſelf.

This was undoubtedly a ſituation that juſtified on every principle the levying an exciſe, and this con-

viction was ſo general among the people, that a conſiderable revenue was raiſed from it during the continuance of the war.

In the year 1780, Congreſs reſolved that an allowance ſhould be made to the army for the depreciation of its pay, and required the ſtates reſpectively to liquidate and provide for the diſcharge of it. The State of Pennſylvania iſſued certificates for the liquidated depreciation, and made it optional for the holders to receive paper bills emitted on the credit of the State to the diſcharge of the one third of the amount; theſe bills being then much depreciated, though afterwards redeemed at par, many of the certificate holders declined to accept of them. A large tract of land Weſt of the Allegany-river, and ſome confiſcated property, were appropriated for the final diſcharge of that debt; but the confiſcated property was but of ſmall value, and the mortgaged property could not then be rendered productive. When it was brought into the market ſeveral years after peace was reſtored, and ſold by auction, only a ſmall portion of it could be ſold at any price, and what did ſell went at a very low rate. The rage for land ſpeculation had not then commenced.

The legiſlature always treated the depreciation as a favoured claim, and the funds appropriated for the diſcharge of it not being productive, on the application of the officers of the Pennſylvania line a law was paſſed, by which the revenue ariſing from the exciſe was appropriated to the payment of the intereſt and the final diſcharge of that debt, though every other ſource of revenue was then brought into operation, even to an oppreſſive extent,

yet the proceeds were appropriated to ſatisfy the requiſitions of Congreſs, and to other indiſpenſible purpoſes; conſequently no proviſion was made for the debt due for militia ſervices, ſupplies, &c. till the year 1785, when revenues were appropriated for paying the intereſt of both the debt of the State, and of the United States, in the hands of citizens who were original holders. A ſum was alſo given in aid of the exciſe, to diſcharge the arrears of intereſt due on the depreciation debt.

If the exciſe tax could have been collected, it would, in a ſhort time, not only have paid the intereſt, but diſcharged the principal of the depreciation debt. In 1786, Mr. Robert Morris made a propoſal to the committee of ways and means to take it on farm, and pay into the ſtate treaſury ſeventy thouſand pounds per annum; but farming of revenues having been practiſed only under deſpotic governments, and perhaps only practicable there, the propoſal was rejected, but no doubt was entertained but that a neat ſum to that amount might have been produced by it, if it could have been collected; but when it was beſt collected it produced only fifteen thouſand pounds, and that only for two or three years; and this was chiefly raiſed from imported ſpirits and wines; but the neighbouring ſtates not having exciſe laws, even the exciſe tax on foreign liquors was much evaded.

For ſome time after the ſettlement of the weſtern Counties commenced, diſtillation was not introduced, but the ſpirits conſumed there were brought from the eaſt ſide of the mountains, and during the war little progreſs could be made in promoting the manufac-

ture of Spirits; conſequently little attention was paid to the collection of exciſe in that country, though I find that the prothonotary of Weſtmoreland collected ſome in that County under his authority of collecting the tax on tavern licences. It might have been longer neglected, if the exciſe offices for thoſe counties had not been urgently ſolicited by one Graham, who formerly kept the black-horſe tavern in Market-ſtreet, and who obtained a commiſſion for collecting the exciſe tax in all the weſtern counties. A perſon of a more fair character and greater diſcretion would have been neceſſary for the ſucceſsful diſcharge of that truſt, but ſuch did not apply.

Before this time, it was generally known that very little of the exciſe tax on domeſtic diſtilled ſpirits was then collected in the old ſettled counties; in moſt of them none at all. Mr. Bartholomew, the exciſe officer of Philadelphia, informed me that he had declined demanding it from the diſtillers of grain or fruit. The members of aſſembly from Cheſter county, ſome of whom were diſtillers, ſaid that none was collected there. This was generally known to have been the caſe throughout the ſtate at large, but more eſpecially in thoſe counties bordering on other ſtates.

None of the neighbouring ſtates having exciſe laws, rendered it the more impracticable and odious in Pennſylvania. The State of New Jerſey, preſſed with the debts contracted in the courſe of the war, and having neither commercial revenue, nor any lands to diſpoſe of, conſequently having no reſources from impoſts or land offices, as the neighbouring ſtates of New-York and Pennſylvania had, attempted about this time to aid her revenue

by an exciſe, but never could bring it into operation: It was wholly defeated in the firſt attempt by a powerful combination of the citizens of that ſtate.

Theſe circumſtances were well known in the weſtern counties, and occaſioned them to be more reluctant in the payment of that tax. Thoſe who had been prejudiced againſt the laws of Pennſylvania, and never experienced an exciſe tax, diſcovered a ſerious repugnance to the execution of it. However the diſtillers in Weſtmoreland pretty generally ſettled with the collector of exciſe, and paid him conſiderable ſums of money. He often converſed with me on the ſubject, and acknowledged that he ſucceeded equal to his expectations.

The people however complained that the collector acted contrary to law in ſeveral inſtances, and he acknowledged he did to Col. Cook the Judge of the court, and told him that the magiſtrates ought to protect him in doing ſo in ſome inſtances, as it contributed to the public ſervices. He was informed that if he did not conſider himſelf to be bound by the laws in the diſcharge of his duty, he muſt not be ſurpriſed if the people did not regulate their conduct towards him agreeably to the laws.

However he met with no interruption, till ſome time after at the court of Weſtmoreland, when in the evening a man in diſguiſe, ſupported by ſeveral others, called him to the door of his chamber, and attempted to pull him out, telling him that he was Belzebub, and would deliver him to a number of other devils who waited for him without. But the collector being armed with piſtols ſtood on his defence, and with the aſſiſt-

ance of ſome in the room kept them out, nor would he ſuffer thoſe in the room to go out during the night.

The collector commenced a proſecution againſt the perſon, who, he ſuppoſed, perſonated Belzebub, and ſome others, but ſatisfactory proof being given to the court, that the collector had miſtaken the perſon, he was of courſe acquitted, and the collector's character was ſo freely treated by ſome of the gentlemen of the bar, that he left the court as ſoon as he perceived his miſtake was diſcovered. An imputation of a miſtake of that kind had been alleged againſt him formerly. To do him juſtice however, I ſuſpect that he rather miſtook the time than the perſon. Greater miſtakes of the ſame nature have ſince been made by others.

Some time after this, however, he met with worſe treatment in Waſhington county. He was there attacked by a mob, who, after ſhaving him, cutting off his hair, and dreſſing his horſe's mane and tail in ſuch a manner as to diſfigure him, brought him into Weſtmoreland county and let him go. No doubt other attempts were made to intimidate and diſcourage him, but I have neither heard from himſelf nor any other perſon, of any ſubſequent outrages committed againſt him. I have never underſtood how much money he received. I believe in ſome inſtances he compounded for what he could get without trouble, and as there was no check on him, he probably detained the largeſt ſhare of the money in his own hands. When the ſu-

preme judges came to hold a court of Oyer and Terminer in Waſhington, he commenced a proſecution againſt twelve perſons, who were convicted and fined, and compelled to pay high damages to the collector, which I am informed he received, and then reſigned his commiſſion.

Afterwards, a man of the name of Craig accepted of the office of exciſe for the weſtern counties. His ſon, who acted as his deputy, I was acquainted with; he behaved himſelf well, and appeared to be ſucceſsful; but his father getting into ſome quarrels, near the place of his reſidence, complaints went againſt him, and he was removed.

The repreſentatives from theſe counties were much importuned to have the law repealed, but this could not be done until ſome other fund could be procured to appropriate as a ſubſtitute, and all the other funds were at this time overburthened. They were mortified however to ſee the authority of the ſtate degraded by the non-execution of the exciſe law. To remedy this evil ſeveral unſucceſsful endeavours were made to reviſe the law, and to procure more reſpectable officers.

John Baird, Eſq. then a member of the ſupreme executive council of the ſtate, and myſelf, applied to a reſpectable perſon, well known in that country, and obtained his conſent to ſerve, but when the commiſſion arrived he declined accepting it. Before the law was repealed, another perſon, well qualified for the appointment, accepted of it, and kept his office for ſome time in Pittſburgh, but ſoon reſigned it.

There were no riots but thoſe I have mentioned againſt Graham ; but as all thoſe who held the office received ſome money, for which it was believed they never accounted, (probably they did not receive more than was a competent compenſation), thoſe that paid at firſt, ſeeing others eſcape with impunity, refuſed to comply. They all knew, that in the old counties it was generally paid only on foreign liquors.

Some may wiſh to know how the people in ſo remote a country knew ſo well what was done in the eaſtern counties. It is neceſſary they ſhould be informed, that a great proportion of the weſtern farmers uſually go over the mountains, every year after ſeeding time, to bring up their ſalt, when they generally viſit their friends, where they formerly reſided, and are informed of the news of the country. All the ſalt, and many other articles conſumed in the weſtern counties, are purchaſed from the ſtorekeepers on the eaſt ſide of the mountains, and carried to the weſtern counties on horſe-back, in cags, or bags. In this way they have to carry it from above one to two hundred miles.

It was long expected, that the thirteen ſtates would agree to veſt Congreſs with the power of levying an impoſt on goods imported. Under this impreſſion the funding law of the ſtate was enacted in 1785. The depreciation debt had been funded before, and one year's intereſt had been paid on a great part of the domeſtic debt. This had been done with a view to equalize the diſtreſſes of the citizens, and

give a check to the prevailing ſpeculations on certificates, and raiſe the price in the market of thoſe which had not been alienated, till Congreſs could provide otherwiſe for them, which was then daily expected to be put in their power by the thirteenth ſtate agreeing to the five per cent. impoſt.

CHAP. III.

WHEN the federal government was organiſed, and before proviſion had been made for the public debt, the aſſembly of Pennſylvania repealed the law for levying a direct tax, and left the exciſe unrepealed. This meaſure was much influenced by one of the members of Congreſs, who reſided in the city, and had newly returned from congreſs at New-York; the ſame who always introduced the meaſures, originated by the ſecretary of the treaſury, in the form of reſolves, in the Houſe of Repreſentatives; but it was oppoſed by a numerous minority, of which the weſtern members compoſed a part. They wiſhed to continue the direct tax a year longer, that the earlieſt opportunity might be taken of repealing the exciſe law. So much embarraſſed were the revenues of the ſtate by the premature repeal of the direct tax, that in the next ſeſſion the legiſlature had to borrow ſixty thouſand pounds from the Bank of North America on mortgage, and to negociate with the late proprietaries,

to get them to receive certificates inſtead of caſh, for a debt due them by the commonwealth. How far diſappointing the public creditors of the ſtate, by prematurely embarraſſing its revenues, and continuing the ſtate exciſe when the direct tax was repealed, was intended to promote the plan for aſſuming the ſtate debt, and levying a general exciſe, which tranſpired ſoon after, the reader who has been attentive to thoſe meaſures in their progreſs will be able to judge for himſelf.

It is well known, that the plan reported by the ſecretary of the treaſury to the ſecond ſeſſion of the firſt Congreſs was rejected at that time, and again brought forward in the laſt ſeſſion of that Congreſs, and enacted into a law, Congreſs then ſitting in Philadelphia.

The legiſlature of the ſtate being then alſo in ſeſſion, the members of the houſe of repreſentatives became exceedingly alarmed at the introduction of an exciſe, and adopted reſolutions expreſſive of their ſenſe of the exciſe bill then before Congreſs. The reſolves were deſigned to have been ſent to the Senate of the United States, not as inſtructions by which they were to be bound, but as a declaration of the ſenſe and wiſhes of the ſtate of Pennſylvania reſpecting an exciſe ſyſtem.

The ſubſtance of theſe reſolutions were: Firſt, A declaration of a right in the ſtate legiſlature to give an opinion on every thing of a public nature which has a tendency to deſtroy the rights of the people: Second, That the proceedings of Congreſs, tending to the collection of a revenue by means of an exciſe, ought to attract the attention of the houſe: Third, That

no public emergency then exiſted to warrant the adoption of any ſpecies of taxation, that would violate the rights which were the baſis of the government, and thereby exhibit the ſingular ſpectacle, of a nation oppoſing the oppreſſion of others, to enſlave itſelf.

In the diſcuſſion of theſe reſolutions there were none who argued in favour of the exciſe. The objections were confined to the right of the houſe to interfere in federal meaſures. I was a member at the time, and voted in favour of the reſolutions; but had at firſt ſome difficulty with reſpect to the right of interference. Since that time we find, however, that other ſtate legiſlatures have frequently interfered, by giving their opinion on important federal meaſures, without being cenſured for it. The Yeas and Nays were taken on the reſolutions, and the reaſons given at large on the journals. By the journals of that ſeſſion of the houſe of repreſentatives of the General Aſſembly, it appears, that there were forty votes in favour of the reſolutions, and ſixteen againſt them. Some, at leaſt, of the minority were as much oppoſed to the exciſe as thoſe who voted in the majority, but thought the interference improper. The name of John Nevil, now inſpector of the weſtern ſurvey, ſtands with the majority. Conſidering the difficulty of the queſtion of interference, this was a very unanimous declaration of the repreſentatives of Pennſylvania, and could not be aſcribed to the influence of a faction. The truth is, the reſolutions were moved and ſeconded, and zealouſly ſupported by Col. Gurney and Mr. Richard Wells, of the city of Philadelphia, well known to be reſpectable citizens and zealous federaliſts. They

were alſo ſupported by conſultations with other inhabitants of the city, at the Coffee-houſe, where the principles of exciſes were diſcuſſed freely, and at theſe conſultations, and in the debates in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, the teſtimony given by the old Congreſs againſt exciſes was much relied on. The weſtern members did not aſſiſt at the conſultations at the Coffee-houſe.

A great proportion of the people of Pennſylvania had expreſſed their ſenſe of the exciſe law, by the alarm they diſcovered on receiving information of the ſecretary's report in favour of an exciſe ſyſtem, and the joy they expreſſed at hearing that it was rejected. This circumſtance gave the members of aſſembly a good opportunity to know the ſentiments of the people on the ſubject, and this diſpoſition was not confined to any particular place. Only one member from the city of Philadelphia, and two from the county, voted againſt the reſolutions, and but one member from the weſtern counties voted in their favour.

The firſt ill treatment given to an exciſeman under the federal law was in Cheſter county, but the rioters were convicted, and puniſhed ſeverely by the ſtate courts. On that occaſion, the foreman of the jury told the Attorney-general, that he was as much, or more, oppoſed to the exciſe law, than the rioters, but would not ſuffer violations of the laws to go unpuniſhed. I expect ſenſible jurors every where would act from the ſame laudable principle. There were ſeveral other attacks made on exciſe officers in other parts on the eaſt ſide of the mountains, which it is not neceſſary to be particular in ſtating.

The people in the weſtern counties anticipated their experiencing peculiar hardſhips from the exciſe. Without money, or the means of procuring it, and conſuming their whiſkey only in their families or uſing it as an article of barter, which, though it in ſome reſpects anſwered the place of money, yet would not be received in pay for the exciſe tax, they thought it hard to pay as much tax on what ſold with them but at from two ſhillings, to two ſhillings and ſix pence, as they did where it brought double that price. Theſe, and ſuch like arguments, were not new. I found them in uſe againſt the ſtate exciſe when I went to reſide in that country. They aroſe from their ſituation, and the ſimpleſt perſon feeling their force, knew how to uſe them.

Some talked of laying aſide their ſtill altogether, till they would have time to obſerve the effects of the law on other places, and have time to reflect on the ſubject; and this method was adviſed, in preference to a more violent mode of oppoſition, by ſome who were apprehenſive of outrages being committed. But though ſeveral peaceable men laid aſide their ſtills or ſold them, yet there never was any aſſociation or reſolutions among the inhabitants to that purpoſe. The contrary has been aſſerted by pretty high authority.

In the month of June 1791, the firſt year on which the ſtills were to have been entered there were no offices of inſpection opened in the weſtern counties: And though the people were in great conſternation, no public or general conſultation was held on the ſubject, till the latter end of July following, when a meeting was advertiſed to be held at Red-ſtone old fort.

Individuals attended from different places, but not by delegation, and, being in harveſt, few attended from a diſtance. There were four or five from Weſtmoreland, few from Allegany, or the diſtant parts of Waſhington or Fayette. The hardſhips, naturally reſulting from the execution of the exciſe law to that country, were explained, but at the ſame time the conſtitutional authority of Congreſs to enact it was aſſerted. It was reſolved to petition Congreſs for relief, and no petition being prepared, a committee was appointed to meet at Pittſburgh to draught one. The committee was alſo authoriſed to correſpond with the citizens in other places, who might be diſpoſed to petition Congreſs on the ſubject, and it was recommended to the different counties to appoint committees to ſuperintend the ſigning the petitions and forwarding them to Congreſs.

How this meeting could have been ranked by the ſecretary of the treaſury, in his report to the Preſident, preparatory to calling out the militia, among the cauſes of the inſurrection, and given as one of the inſtances of unlawful combination, I know not. Surely ſuch a meeting may be held, and ſuch reſolves paſſed, in Great Britain, even after the ſedition bills, which have thrown that nation into ſuch a flame, are enacted into laws. I never knew that a meeting to petition government reſpectfully, was eſteemed criminal in any country that had the leaſt pretenſions to freedom.

The truth is, as far as I was acquainted with the deſign of that meeting, it was intended to promote ſubmiſſion, and not oppoſition, to the law. There was

no other alternative; for to have argued that the law was juſt and ſalutary, would have had no effect; nor did I know of any perſon then in the country that approved of, or advocated it as a good law. Some, who wrote in favour of ſubmiſſion to the exciſe law, in the Pittſburgh Gazette, were preſent at the Red-ſtone meeting.

Several of thoſe who kept the largeſt diſtilleries, that I was acquainted with in theſe counties, deſigned at that time to enter their ſtills, if there was an opportunity. Some of theſe however afterwards changed their mind. Many of the uninformed people, being told by the warm advocates of the federal government, that after it was ratified we would have no more exciſes, conſidered the exciſe law therefore as unconſtitutional. At the Red-ſtone meeting this miſtake was openly combated. It is not eaſy to convince people that a law, in their opinion unjuſt and oppreſſive in its operation, is at the ſame time conſtitutional.

In Auguſt a committee met at Waſhington, agreeably to the recommendation of the Red-ſtone meeting, and in September a committee, compoſed of perſons from the weſtern counties, met at Pittſburgh. I preſume none of them were delegated, except perhaps from Waſhington county, for only in it had there been a county committee. From Weſtmoreland there was but one perſon, and he was not delegated.

A petition was propoſed by the general committee at Pittſburgh to be ſigned by the people, and ſeveral reſolves were publiſhed in the gazettee, ſome

of which were intemperately expreſſed, and reſpected ſubjects but little connected with the exciſe law, ſuch as the ſalaries of office, the funding ſyſtem, &c.

About eleven months after, in Auguſt 1792, a number of perſons, from Waſhington, Fayette, and Allegany counties, formed the ſecond and laſt committee of that kind that was held at Pittſburgh. They prepared and publiſhed another petition to Congreſs, praying for the repeal of the exciſe law, to be ſigned by the people. The committee alſo publiſhed its ſentiments on the principles of taxation, and the ſuppoſed impropriety and injuſtice of an exciſe ſyſtem. Though it did not cenſure any other meaſures of government, it reſolved to take all legal methods of obſtructing the operation of the exciſe law, and to have no fellowſhip with ſuch as accepted offices under it, and to withdraw from them every aſſiſtance, to withhold the comforts of life, &c. They alſo recommended to the people to follow their example. A ſimilar reſolution had been publiſhed by the committee of Waſhington, about a year before.

I never knew that this example was followed by the people in any inſtance, or that the reſolution was obeyed by even all the members of the committee.

On the ground of diſcretion theſe reſolutions were cenſurable, and were in fact diſapproved by many through the ſtate, who alſo heartily diſliked the exciſe law. That they were not, however, contrary to law, is acknowledged by the ſecretary himſelf, who informs us of his procuring teſtimony, in order to proſecute the perſons who compoſed the committee; but he adds, that the attorney general did not think it actionable. There

is no doubt but it is morally wrong in many caſes to refuſe our charity or aſſiſtance to any of our fellow men, when their neceſſities require it; but theſe duties being of imperfect obligation, we are only reſponſible to our own conſcience and the opinion of the world for the proper diſcharge of them. There are no doubt perſons in ſociety whoſe manners are ſo diſagreeable, or their character ſo objectionable, as to juſtify us in reſolving to have no fellowſhip with them; and where the exciſe law is almoſt univerſally believed to be unjuſt and oppreſſive, men of this deſcription will be found pretty readily among the exciſe officers. Indeed this obſervation need not be reſtricted to places ſo ſituated; it correſponds with the ſentiments of people generally, where exciſes have been long eſtabliſhed, and is the language of their laws.

Theſe reſolutions, however, were cenſurable on the ground of policy. They diſguſted thoſe members of Congreſs, that would otherwiſe have been diſpoſed to have eaſed, if not to have fully relieved, them from their gounds of complaint, and offended the citizens at large, who had ſympathized with them; in ſhort, they undoubtedly occaſioned leſs reſpect to be paid to their petions.

A deſultory meeting was held, in conſequence of an advertiſement, in Allegany county; it formed rules of aſſociation, and publiſhed ſome intemperate reſolutions, but never had a ſecond meeting. Col. Morton, the chairman, near whoſe reſidence the meeting was held, behaved always in an orderly manner, and diſcovered grea firmneſs and diſcretion through the whole of the inſur rection. A meeting was advertiſed to have been hel

at Greenſburgh, in the ſame winter, James Guthry, chairman; but the ſuppoſed chairman contradicted the advertiſement in the next week's gazette, denying that there was any ſuch meeting, or that he was chairman, and we heard no more of it. It may be remarked, that Guthry has uniformly ſupported the character of a good citizen. In ſhort, there was a diſpoſition prevailing with a few people to have the country organized into committees, but not excluſively to popoſe the exciſe. The wages of the aſſembly-men had been raiſed the year before, and people living at ſuch a diſtance from market, having the neceſſaries of life cheap, and not being ſenſible of the increaſed expence of living in Philadelphia, were offended. From this circumſtance a greater number than uſual wiſhed to bring themſelves forward as candidates, not to lower, but to receive, the high wages; to take a lead in committees ſeemed a probable means of ſucceſs. This circumſtance was ſuſpected to have promoted the progreſs of the diſturbances in ſome places, but the conduct of theſe characters came into diſrepute ſoon enough to prevent their ſucceſs.

CHAP. IV.

I CANNOT diſcover that the meetings I have mentioned had any influence in promoting the inſurrection, or connection with it. They were not ſanctioned by the people, nor was there even the appearance of the people aſſembling to elect the perſons of which they were compoſed.

Though I have ſaid, that the reſolves publiſhed by theſe meetings were intemperate and impolitic, yet they are not without the patronage of reſpectable precedents, or rather examples, given by reſpectable and influential characters, even in our own country.

In the year 1777, the darkeſt period of the late war, when the ſtate of Pennſylvania was daily in danger of invaſion, and the government newly put into operation, a number of the moſt wealthy and reſpectable characters in the ſtate, chiefly in the city of Philadelphia, entered into reſolutions, with the declared intention of oppoſing, not a law, but the government

itſelf. They refuſed to hold offices under it, and, if I remember well, to aſſociate with thoſe who did. I do not bring in this example as a juſtification of the conduct of the other; it had a very bad effect in weakening the operations of the government at a time to the laſt degree critical. Yet, if I am not miſtaken, a reſpectable judge of the ſupreme court of the United States, and the late ſupervisor of the diſtrict of Pennſylvania, were among the leading members of that aſſociation. This inſtance ought to be improved as a warning, and not as a precedent. In Britain we obſerve the people, through the whole nation, convening either in aſſociations or occaſional meetings, in vaſt multitudes, to cenſure the conduct of adminiſtration, and petition againſt the ſedition bills; and we ſee theſe aſſemblies publicly patroniſed by the firſt nobility and moſt influential commoners of the nation. So far is this from being cenſured by the miniſtry, that they are equally induſtrious in procuring popular meetings to approve of their meaſures. This is no new thing in that nation. The ſenſe of the nation, given in that manner, has often not only prevented bills being enacted, but has frequently procured the repeal of obnoxious laws. To prove this, many other inſtances might be mentioned.

It is true, it may be plead that popular meetings are often conducted with indiſcretion, and have a tendency to promote licentiouſneſs. This is admitted; but it does not therefore follow, that ſuch meetings ſhould be prohibited by law or denounced by government. Doing ſo, would be reducing the people to

mere machines, and ſubverting the very exiſtence of liberty. It is the duty of the legiſlature not only to accommodate the laws to the people's intereſts, but even, as far as poſſible, to their preconceptions; for as a republican government reſts on the people's confidence, whatever weakens that confidence ſaps the foundations of the government as effectually as treaſon and rebellion, though not ſo rapidly. There are few inſtances of treaſon and rebellion which may not be traced to indiſcreet laws as their ſource. It is generally one indiſcretion exciting another.

It will not do to ſay, that to hold meetings to remonſtrate againſt the paſſing of a law is admiſſible, but that to remonſtrate againſt an exiſting law is improper. Such doctrine in this extenſive country is abſurd, for it muſt always happen, that a great proportion of the people, who are to be governed by the laws, know nothing about them till they are enacted or in operation, conſequently cannot petition againſt their paſſage.

It is equally abſurd to aſſert, that becauſe our laws are enacted by our own repreſentatives, therefore we ought to ſubmit to them without remonſtrance, till our repreſentatives, who know our circumſtances, and partake of our intereſts, think proper to repeal them. This doctrine is ſupported by a preſumption, that a government of repreſentatives can never miſtake the true intereſts of their conſtituents, nor be corrupted or fall into partial combinations, whereas the contrary is preſumable from the nature of man, and verified by immemorial experience.

If the people have a right to petition for the repeal of a law, or remonſtrate againſt its injuſtice or inexpediency, ſurely they have a right to meet, publiſh their ſentiments, and correſpond through the whole extent of the country affected by the laws, without the imputation of combining againſt the government. Their characters indeed are reſponſible to public opinion for the indiſcreet uſe of that right, and their perſons and property to the laws for the infractions committed on them.

Experience will not juſtify the claim of implicit obedience to the laws even of a repreſentative legiſlature. Even in ſuch there may be combinations ſo ſtrong as to ſubvert the conſtitution itſelf; and as the diſpoſal of the public property and the adminiſtration of the national force is neceſſarily veſted in the government, temptations, too ſtrong for the ordinary portion of virtue enjoyed by mankind, may preſent themſelves too ſucceſsfully to the avarice or ambition of thoſe veſted with the power of diſpenſing the public will. Inſtances of this are to be found in the hiſtory of all nations, and proofs of it are not wanting even among ourſelves, though as a nation we are yet in our infancy.

In Georgia, we ſee the legiſlature the ſellers, and the members of the legiſlature and officers of the ſtate, together with influential officers of the general government, the purchaſers of land, to an amount unknown in the hiſtory of contracts. In conſequence of this enormous ſpeculation we ſee the people agitated to a degree of madneſs, and the ſucceeding legiſlature not only repealing the law, but erazing the

memorials of it from their journals. How much better would it have been, how much more honourable to the ſtate, to have liſtened to the remonſtrances of the people in time. The government of Georgia is a fair and full repreſentation of the people, and yet here we find a powerful leſſon againſt the claim of implicit confidence in the wiſdom of repreſentative legiſlatures.

But we need not look to the ſtate of Georgia alone for inſtances. The conduct there differs only in degree from what had previouſly taken place in other ſtates. On examination it will be found, that generally where any of our governments had a ſubject of ſpeculation at their diſpoſal, much of it has found its way into the hands of ſuch as had the diſpoſal of it, or their favourites. The land-offices of different ſtates, even Pennſylvania itſelf, may be cited in proof of this doctrine.

Where a large territory is ſubject to a repreſentative legiſlature, it is ſometimes very difficult to accommodate general laws to the various intereſts and prepoſſeſſions of the different parts. In this caſe, it becomes the legiſlature to prefer what is moſt evidently juſt and practicable to that which refined politicians may judge expedient. The greateſt danger to republican governments ariſe from combinations and political fineſſe. If the people have not ſo much good ſenſe as to ſubmit to exactions, or ſupport meaſures that are reaſonably juſt and neceſſary, they are not fit for a republican government. It is of importance that the neceſſity of meaſures which preſs hard on the people ſhould be evident; and generally matters of

urgent neceſſity are eaſily explained to the comprehenſions of the people. When this is done they are generally found willing to ſubmit to any burden.

This obſervation was verified in the courſe of the late war. When the Congreſs-money ceaſed to be a uſeful circulating medium, the people in thoſe ſtates, whoſe legiſlatures made exertions, ſubmitted to pay an amount of taxes that will ſcarcely be credited in future time; and they did this without giving the governments any difficulty, until they became apprehenſive that the fruits of their earnings went chiefly into the hands of ſpeculators. Yet in one ſtate only did this promote an inſurrection. It is acknowledged that the oppreſſion in Maſſachuſetts was exorbitant before it produced oppoſition, and that the inſurrection in that ſtate was preceded by a long courſe of complaints and evident diſcontents. The legiſlature removed the cauſes of complaint after the oppoſition was ſubdued, and the inſurgents were treated with lenity. The conduct of that ſtate on this trying occaſion reflects honour on republican governme t; ſtill more happy, however, would it have been, if, by giving more early relief, the inſurrection had been prevented. The citizens will bear amazing burdens in times of public emergency, or for the immediate diſcharge of debts contracted from evident neceſſity; but when once the impreſſion of neceſſity is removed from their minds, and eſpecially when the claims have become the objects of ſpeculation, the people generally have not diſcernment enough to approve even of neceſſary arrangements for the ſupport of public credit. Though they have pretty accurate ideas of juſtice or equity in the abſtract,

yet they cannot trace it through the refined mazes of a policy neceſſary for funding ſyſtems. Indeed, to carry theſe ſyſtems to any great extent, the government ſhould poſſeſs not only all the internal reſources of revenue without competition, but alſo all other internal governmental powers and patronage to the utmoſt extent.

It is a doctrine now avowed in the Britiſh parliament, that when laws are enacted dangerous to the liberty and intereſts of the people, ſubmiſſion to them is not a queſtion of morality but of prudence. Perhaps government ſhould always act under impreſſions of the truth of this poſition, but the citizens ſhould examine it with the utmoſt caution before they reduce it to practice.

We are certainly under a moral obligation to preſerve our own life and the life of our neighbours. Every inſtance of actual oppoſition to government, obliges it to have recourſe to force and coercion for its own preſervation, for the authority of government cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the government itſelf. Though forcible oppoſition has often been made to particular laws, without the remoteſt intention in thoſe who oppoſed the law to overturn the government, yet it is not to be ſuppoſed, that thoſe who adminiſter the government will be moved to change their meaſures by a defiance of their power to ſupport them. Nor indeed can this be done in a republican government, without ſuch an imputation of weakneſs as will invite to forcible oppoſition from every diſcontented party. Therefore citizens who conceive themſelves oppreſſed by partial laws, ſhould conſider, that a de-

fiance of the power of government, by forcible oppoſition to the authority of the laws, eventually leads to hoſtility and bloodſhed, and that there is no telling the end of thoſe meaſures from their beginning. Every thing that has a tendency to agitate the public mind to an unuſual degree, ought to be avoided, becauſe when the mind is highly agitated with reſpect to public meaſures it is too much diſturbed to judge deliberately, and is prediſpoſed to act without diſcretion. The public mind may be agitated by thoſe who cannot direct or controul its exertions. We are under a moral obligation to reſpect government, not only as a divine ordinance, but alſo as a moral compact, binding the people to one another for its ſupport.

It is certain, however, that the government and laws of ſome countries are not worth preſerving, and even where a government is good in itſelf it may be perverted in the adminiſtration. As it is for the promoting of mutual happineſs and ſecurity only that government is valuable, therefore the power of altering or amending governments is expreſsly declared to be in the people, who are the judges of their own happineſs, by ſome conſtitutions. It is, however, radically in them, whether expreſſed in a written inſtrument or not.

When the change of a government, a revolt from it, or a temporary oppoſition to its laws, ſuch as the oppoſition of the colonies to the ſtamp and tea acts was, is believed to be morally right, it is yet a matter of the greateſt delicacy, to calculate with accuracy with reſpect to the prudence or policy of commencing the oppoſition contemplated. When the mind is highly

agitated, it is very unfit to examine the reſources to ſupport oppoſition, or to calculate with preciſion the probable conſequences of it. That this was the caſe in the late inſurrection will appear evident in the ſequel.

But if thoſe who adminiſter the government attempt to iſſue denunciations againſt the liberty of expreſſing opinions of their meaſures and objects, or to preſcribe rules by which men muſt be regulated in expreſſing their opinions, the very attempt will increaſe the evil it is intended to correct. When thoſe in truſt attempt to exerciſe authority over the diſcretion of the citizens, otherwiſe than in the unequivocal language of the laws, as the attempt cannot be ſupported by coercion it will only bring the meaſures of government into contempt, and operate as a ſtimulus to indiſcreet cenſure. Inſtances might be given in proof of this obſervation if it were neceſſary. Candid inveſtigations of the meaſures of government have their uſes even though they may be miſtaken, and ſcurrilous writings, though they are pernicious in themſelves, can do little harm; they rather attach people of diſcernment more cloſely to the government. Thoſe who conduct the meaſures, and diſpenſe the favours of government, have generally the advantage in newſpaper writings; not only men of diſcretion, who approve of the meaſures, will write in their favour, but panegyriſts, ſycophants, and even the greateſt maſters in the arts of ſcurrility, will generally be found on the ſide of government in every country, whether its meaſures be good or bad. And though ſometimes indeed a Junius may ſtart up on the other ſide;

this is rare; and the writers in favour of government often treat reſpectable citizens and the maſs of the people with great freedom, and generally eſcape the denunciations of thoſe entruſted with the public adminiſtration. It is never a good omen when the meaſures of government are in danger of ſeffering by inveſtigation.

The meetings which have been enumerated I conſider as lawful and harmleſs in themſelves; but ſome of their reſolutions, as I have before obſerved, were cenſurable in point of diſcretion. It is my own opinion, that if they had been more generally attended by men of diſcretion, they might have been advantageous. They were not permanent aſſociations.

There was, however, an aſſociation of a more permanent nature commenced in the winter previous to the inſurrection. A great proportion of the Mingo creek regiment of militia became members of it. It is ſaid, that during its exiſtence it was frequently attended by three hundred perſons. The rules of this inſtitution, and various powers which it is reported to have exerciſed, imitated the language, and aſſumed the forms of regularly conſtituted authority. This aſſociation never was announced in the newſpapers, and its exiſtence was known to but few.

Though the whole country diſapproved of the exciſe, yet the people in the ſettlement where this aſſociation was formed, ſeem to have been more zealous in their diſapprobation of it than many others. It is true, their rules did not apply particularly againſt the exciſe, nor contain any thing unlawful, yet the circumſtance of being aſſociated made them formida-

ble in what they undertook, and encouraged them to undertake what they otherwiſe would not have done as individuals.

It is in this that the difference between occaſional ſocieties and permanent aſſociations conſiſt. In Maſſachuſetts, where the people of every town is incorporated into a permanent aſſociation, when they undertake any thing, either good or bad, they act with greater vigour. By this means it was that they made ſuch glorious exertions at the commencement of the revolution, and by the ſame means alſo the inſurrection in that ſtate became ſo formidable, and was conducted with ſo much ſyſtem.

It has been generally ſaid, that one object of their aſſociation was to prevent people from committing outrages on exciſemen. This might have been the object of a number of the aſſociates, and it might have produced this effect for ſome time. Perhaps it was owing to this that general Nevil was not attacked at his own houſe ſooner, for undoubtedly there was greater reſentment againſt him than any of his deputies, for reaſons that I ſhall mention in the ſequel; and it does appear that deſigns were entertained againſt him by ſome of the aſſociates previous to the attack on his houſe. This aſſociation was the more dangerous that it was ſecret. And though, as has been obſerved, it was not actively concerned in many of the outrages preceding the inſurrection, yet various concurring circumſtances render it more than probable, that that unfortunate event was principally to be aſcribed to its inſtrumentality.

CHAP. V.

THE firſt actual outrage was committed in September 1791, on a Robert Johnſon, collector of exciſe for Waſhington and Allegany counties, by a party of armed men diſguiſed. The attack was made on him near Pigeon creek. After cutting his hair, they tarred and feathered him, and in this ſituation compelled him to walk ſome diſtance.

The next act of violence was committed on a man of the name of Wilſon, who was in ſome meaſure diſordered in his intellects, and affected to be, perhaps thought he was, an exciſe-man, and was making enquiry for diſtillers. He was purſued by a party, taken out of his bed, and carried ſeveral miles to a ſmith's ſhop; there they ſtriped off his cloaths and burnt them, and burning him in ſeveral places with a hot iron, they tarred and feathered, and in that ſituation diſmiſſed, him.

Not long after this, one Roſsberry ſuffered the puniſhment of tarring and feathering for advocating

the exciſe law. An armed banditti ſeized and carried off two perſons who were witneſſes in the caſe of Wilſon, who had been abuſed by the rioters. A formidable attempt was made to ſeize the inſpector himſelf in Waſhington town, where he was expected, by a numerous party diſguiſed. He had been appriſed of their coming, and did not attend at the office. In Auguſt 1792, capt. Faulkner, who had let his houſe to the inſpector to hold his office in, was attacked on the road by a perſon with a drawn knife, and threatened that his houſe ſhould be burned for permitting an office of inſpection to be held in it. He eſcaped, on giving a promiſe to prevent the further uſe of his houſe for an office, and accordingly gave public notice in the newſpapers, that the office ſhould be no longer kept in his houſe.

In April 1793, an armed party attacked the houſe of Wells, whoſe reſidence is in Fayette county, but did not find him at home. They broke open the houſe and threatened the family. On the 22d of November following, the houſe of Wells was attacked again, in the night. They then obliged him to ſurrender his commiſſion and books, and required him to publiſh a reſignation of his office, within two weeks, in the newſpapers, on pain of having his houſe burned.

James Kiddoe and William Coughran, who had entered their ſtills, were firſt threatened, and afterwards attacked. Some pieces of the griſt-mill of the former were carried away, and the ſtill of the latter was deſtroyed, his ſaw-mill rendered uſeleſs, and his griſt-mill materially injured; and he was ordered to

publiſh what he had ſuffered in the Pittſburgh Gazette.

An armed party in diſguiſe, attacked and broke into the houſe of John Lynn, where the office was kept, and after prevailing on him to come down ſtairs, they tied and threatened to hang him; then took him to the woods, cut off his hair, tarred and feathered him, and ſwore him never to diſcloſe their names, or permit an exciſe office to be held in his houſe; and binding him to a tree, left him in that ſituation till morning, when he extricated himſelf. Theſe outrages all happened ſouth of the Monongahela.

In June 1794, Wells, the collector for Weſtmoreland and Fayette counties, opened his office, at the houſe of a certain Philip Regan in Weſtmoreland county. The houſe was at different times attacked by armed men in the night, who frequently fired on it; but they were always repulſed by P. Regan and Wells the younger.

I have taken this enumeration from the ſecretary's report. However, I have paſſed one inſtance mentioned by him, viz. that Wells the collector was injuriouſly treated at Greenſburgh, in Weſtmoreland, in 1792. I paſſed it, becauſe I was convinced it was without foundation. On the moſt minute enquiry, I have not found the ſmalleſt trace of any injury or inſult that he received there; nay, he got aſſurances that none in the town would injure him. He was told indeed, in friendly converſation, that they could not undertake for other parts of the county, and that ſince no perſon in the county would accept of the office, he might conclude that his holding it there would

not be acceptable. Though the man's perſon was little known in that county, yet few were ſtrangers to his perſonal character previous to his obtaining the office.

The account of his being ill treated at Greenſburgh, is connected by the ſecretary with a ſimilar aſſertion reſpecting the treatment he received at Union Town, in Fayette county. This, however, alſo appears to have but little foundation. On the firſt day appointed for entering the ſtills, a number of diſtillers attended; but the collector did not appear. On the ſecond day, for he was to have attended one day in the week, a greater number of diſtillers appeared; but the collector was not to be found, though called and diligent enquiry made for him. He was known to be a timid man, and very probably was afraid of their numbers, and this might have been the reaſon why a greater number attended the ſecond day; but they were neither armed with weapons nor threats. When he undertook the office he ought to have diſcovered more boldneſs and leſs apprehenſion. This conduct invited to further inſults. I am perſuaded, that at this time no plan for attacking or mal-treating exciſe-men had been concerted or matured by the diſtillers.

When either public or private truſts are undertaken by men who diſlike the buſineſs themſelves, they cannot be expected to diſcharge it with energy. To obtain the compenſation will be their principal aim, and all their efforts will be directed to that object. It will be the ſame with ſuch as poſſeſs neither principle nor ſenſe of honour, and ſuch may be expected

to obtain offices where the field for ſelection is very much narrowed. How far this obſervation will apply to the caſe of the exciſe officers in the weſtern counties, will be ſeen in its proper place.

In two inſtances, the barns of perſons who had given information againſt offenders, &c. in Allegany county, were burnt, probably by the offenders themſelves, though this could not be proved. Some other injuries were committed, and threats were publiſhed in the newſpapers, under the ſignature of Tom the Tinker. Theſe threats, contained in letters ſigned by Tom the Tinker, were directed to certain perſons, with expreſs orders to have them publiſhed; and the editor of the Pittſburgh Gazette did not think it prudent to refuſe to admit them. I cannot give a better account of the famous ſignature of Tom Tinker, which figured ſo highly about this time, than by adopting the words of Mr. Brackenridge on that ſubject.

"A term had come into popular uſe before this "time, to deſignate the oppoſition to the exciſe law; "it was that of Tom the Tinker. It was not given, "as the appellation of whig originally was, as a term "of reproach for adverſaries; but aſſumed by the peo-"ple who were active in ſome of the maſked riots, "which took place at an early period. A certain John "Holcroft was thought to have made the firſt applica-"tion of it. It was at the time of the maſked at-"tack on a certain William Coughran, who rendered "himſelf obnoxious by the entry of his ſtills; and the "menders, of courſe, muſt be tinkers, and the name, "collectively, became Tom the Tinker. Advertiſe-

"ments were put up on the trees, and in the high "ways, or in other conſpicuous places, under the ſig- "nature of Tom the Tinker, threatening individu- "als, or admoniſhing them in meaſures with regard "to the exciſe law." *Incidents, page* 79.

It afterwards appeared that they did not originate with Holcroft, though the inventor of them has never been diſcovered; theſe letters were only made uſe of in the ſettlements adjacent to the Monongahela, till after the inſurrection broke out. Then, however, they were ſent to diſtant places.

In the latter end of 1793 and the beginning of 1794, there appeared to be a very general wiſh among the diſtillers, and other people of reflection, that the ſtills ſhould be entered, and a general ſubmiſſion to the law enforced. They were convinced, that the deſultory, outrageous, and incendiary oppoſition that was given to the execution of the law, was likely to introduce a very bad ſtate of ſociety. That it was putting it in the power of bad men, emboldened by the habit of committing daring outrages, to diſturb the peace of ſociety, and to render the enjoyment of life and property inſecure. They knew that though the preſent outrages were only directed againſt the execution of the exciſe law, if theſe eſcaped with impunity, the execution of every other law might ſhare the ſame fate in its turn. The demand for whiſkey for the ſupply of the army put it in the power of the diſtillers to procure caſh for the payment of the exciſe tax, and the contractor confining his purchaſes to ſpirits on which the exciſe had been paid, gave a powerful inducement to a compliance with the law.

With a view to promote this compliance, a number of the moſt influential perſons including a number of the moſt reſpectable diſtillers, agreed to promote ſubmiſſion to the exciſe laws, on condition that a total change was made in the officers, and ſuch men put into office as the people could confide in ; they alſo expreſſed their willingneſs to recommend ſuch characters and render themſelves reſponſible for their fidelity. This agreement was entered into at the court of Fayette county, in the winter or ſpring previous to the inſurrection. I had the firſt information of it from James Roſs, Esq. ſenator of the United States, who had been preſent and contributed to this agreement, before he came to the ſenate in April 1794. I aſked him how far the change of the officers was intended to go, and if they were confident they could precure good men to accept of the offices. He told me the change was intended to go to all the officers of the ſurvey, and that they were confident of being able to procure ſuch as would faithfully diſcharge the duties of the reſpective offices, and enjoy the confidence of the people, and he aſked me if I could recommend ſuch for Weſtmoreland county. I told him that having been long from home, and having no opportunity of conſulting, I could not recommend: That if I did recommend a good man without knowing whether he would ſerve or not, and he declined it, it would render it more difficult to get another to accept of it. I had experienced this inconveniency under the ſtate exciſe.

This diſpoſition coming to the knowledge of thoſe who were obſtinate and undiſcerning, and who had already committed exceſſes, they became more out-

rageous, proceeded to freſh acts of violence, and expreſſed as great a degree of reſentment againſt thoſe who complied with the law as they did againſt the officers who acted under it. The exertions of thoſe who oppoſed the law being the reſult of an infatuated ſtate of mind and a miſtaken zeal were vigorous, and being conducted in a clandeſtine manner, there could be no defence againſt their effects; this encreaſed the diſpoſition of diſcreet men to ſubmit, but it deterred them from actually entering their ſtills. They were ſurprized that no coercive exertions were made by the federal judiciary in ſupport of the law, and thoſe who complied with the duties it required. About that time I received letters from different diſtillers near Loyalhanna in Weſtmoreland county, requeſting my opinion both as to their beſt mode of proceeding, and whether government was likely to make any exertion to put the law in execution, and protect thoſe who were willing to ſubmit; for though there had been no riots in that part of the country, neither had there been any office of inſpection, nor entries of ſtills; but they had heard of the treatment thoſe had met with who entered them in other counties, and did not know but they might be treated in the ſame manner. I informed them that it was their duty to enter their ſtills whether they uſed them or not, that there was no ground to expect that the law would be either repealed, or altered in that reſpect, during that ſeſſion of Congreſs, but referred to themſelves to judge of the ſafety of their perſons or property. I had ſuſpected no danger of that kind in that part of the country when I left home. With reſpect to the opportunity of entering, that laying with the inſpector, I

could tell nothing about it. Some of thoſe in the mean time, compounding privately for the exciſe in Pittſburgh, ſold their liquor to the contractors. They would have much rather entered their ſtills; but even ſelling their liquors to the contractors raiſed ſuſpicions againſt them, and occaſioned threats from a diſtance and reſentment from ſome of their neighbours, and rendered it neceſſary for them to temporize, during the troubles that followed, more than they otherwiſe would have done. The new alterations in the exciſe law were not enacted till ſome time in the month of June, and could not be known at that diſtance till after that month was expired.

From the relation already given, it is evident, that an oppoſition to, or non-compliance with, the execution of the exciſe law, had exiſted in the weſtern counties of Pennſylvania, for the ſpace of three years; or, to uſe the expreſſions of the ſecretary of the treaſury, "The oppoſition to thoſe laws in the four weſtern counties of Pennſylvania, was as early as they were known to have paſſed. It has continued, with different degrees of violence in the different counties, and at different periods.—But Waſhington has uniformly diſtinguiſhed its reſiſtance, by a more exceſſive ſpirit than has appeared in the other counties, and ſeems to have been chiefly inſtrumental in kindling, and keeping alive the flame."

There might be ſome difference of opinion between the ſecretary and others, about the inſtances that are entitled to the term oppoſition. Perhaps, circulation of opinion, or declaration of ſentiments, and every lawful means of promoting remonſtrances

againſt it, or petitions for its repeal, or even reſolving to ceaſe from diſtilling, if that had been done, might be better expreſſed by the term diſapprobation. But not to contend about this, it will be admitted, that the attack on Robert Johnſon, on the 6th of September 1791, and all the ſubſequent acts of violence, were acts of oppoſition to that law, and were ſo many defiances to the power of the judicial authority of the United States. Various and flagrant inſtances of oppoſition I have already recited, till I have brought the narrative to the avenue of that criſis, when the oppoſition burſt forth with an exploſion, that, as has been ſaid by reſpectable authority, electrified the whole United States. It remains to be enquired, what means the reſponſible head of the executive department exerted, to coerce this oppoſition, and to prevent its more general ſpread.

CHAP. VI.

THE firſt inſtance that we find of coercion having been attempted, was the ſending Joſeph Fox, deputy marſhal, to ſerve proceſſes iſſued by the diſtrict court againſt the perſons concerned in the riot on Johnſon. He went to the inſpector, and on his advice returned home again without going to the proper place, or attempting to ſerve the writs; but with the inſpector's advice alſo, he ſent the proceſſes under cover as private letters, by a poor ſimple man, who had been uſually employed in driving cattle, &c. If the inſpector could have contrived a ſurer method to degrade the government in the eſteem of the rioters, and invite inſults, it is beyond my comprehenſion; and unhappily the poor man, who was ignorant of what he was doing, was the victim of this injudicious plan.

What better could the inſpector expect. If the people were well diſpoſed where the proceſs was to be ſerved, why diſcourage the deputy marſhal from go-

ing forward? If they were not well diſpoſed, why ſend a poor creature who, not knowing what he delivered, could not give teſtimony of his having ſerved the proceſſes? Would not this contemptible method of ſerving proceſſes irritate even a well diſpoſed man on whom it was ſerved? The authority of a commiſſion from government, and the reſpectability attached thereby to the perſon that bears it, generally procures a degree of reverence to an officer of juſtice. The ſheriff or conſtable will be reſpected when the officious bum will probably be well flogged, but in this inſtance the poor man was taken for a bum and treated accordingly, without knowing the nature of the ſervice he was employed about. He was ſeized, whipped, tarred and feathered, and it is ſaid that his money was taken from him, and finally, being blindfolded, he was tied in the woods, and remained in that ſituation for five hours.

No farther exertion was made on the part of government till the fall of the year 1792, that the ſupervifor of the revenue was ſent "to aſcertain the real ſtate of the ſurvey, to obtain evidence of the perſons who were concerned in Faulkner's caſe, and of thoſe who compoſed the meeting at Pittſburgh, to uphold the confidence and encourage the perſeverance of the officers acting under the law, and to induce if poſſible the inhabitants of that part of the ſurvey, which appeared leaſt diſinclined, to come voluntarily into the meaſure, by arguments addreſſed to their ſenſe of duty, and exhibiting the eventual dangers and miſchiefs of reſiſtance."

I wiſh for the ſake of the perſonal reſpect I have long entertained for the ſupervifor of the revenue, and his family, that he had not introduced his journey

to Pittſburgh, and put me to the diſagreeable neceſſity of animadverting on it. Were I indeed to relate it in the manner I have heard it deſcribed, the reader would be induced to think it a romance rather than a real narative. It is ſufficient for my purpoſe to ſtate that he went to Pittſburgh in the moſt clandeſtine manner poſſible, confined himſelf within a very narrow circle of the citizens while he remained there, refuſed to go to Waſhington town, though he was warmly ſolicited to go there and aſſured of ſafety, and though it was in that county that the offence was committed, to prepare for the proſecution of which was the principal object of his miſſion, and where only evidence was to be procured. Staying but a few days at Pittſburgh, he returned to Philadelphia with the rapidity of a poſt rider, accompanied by a military guard through the moſt peaceable part of the country, where there were many reſpectable citizens with whom he was well acquainted, and others who would have been glad to have ſeen him, and would have thought it a pleaſure to do him any reaſonable ſervice.

Not contented with diſcovering this total want of confidence in the moſt diſcreet people of that country, when he returned to Philadelphia he made an unprovoked attack in the news-papers on the magiſtrates, clergy, and all the other inhabitants of the whole weſtern counties; I ſay unprovoked; for though a ludicrous account of his journey had been publiſhed in the Pittſburgh gazette and republiſhed in Philadelphia, yet if it was a crime it could not be aſcribed to the people whoſe character he traduced, for few of them knew he had been up till they heard of his being gone again.

Though I reſide within two miles of the great road, by which he returned, the firſt information I had of his having been up was from that very publication in the gazette. If I had known he had been there I would undoubtedly have waited on him, and invited him to my houſe; there were others who would have done ſo as well as me.

There had been no inſult offered or injury done to any exciſe officer, nor actual oppoſition given to the execution of the law in all the country through which he paſſed and repaſſed, and at that time the diſtillers there generally would have been eaſily induced to have complied with the law; but the ſupervifor's conduct went far to ſuppreſs the growing diſpoſition towards compliance, which even the ſecretary himſelf acknowledges to have exiſted at that time. He indeed procured evidence againſt two men for being concerned in the riot at Faulkner's, but the evidence was falſe. The two men were not only innocent but meritorious, and the proofs of their innocence were ſo deciſive as not to leave the leaſt doubt remaining; therefore though a bill had been found at the diſtrict court, in conſequence of the perjury, the proſecution was diſcontinued.

The witneſs was a recruit, and at that time an hoſtler of Capt. Faulkner's. I know nothing of his character; but I have ſufficient reaſon to preſume that Capt. Faulkner's own teſtimony would condemn no perſon before a court of juſtice where his character was known. I never knew who it was that ſuborned the witneſs to ſwear againſt Meſs. Kerr and Beer, but I am perſuaded the ſupervifor's moral principles were too good to permit him to be knowingly concerned in it. All

the information the ſecretary is pleaſed to communicate on this, is, that there was a miſtake in the perſons; fortunately the miſtake operated againſt perſons whoſe character and ſituation protected them from falling victims to the moſt groſs and flagrant depravity. It might have been otherwiſe with perſons equally innocent.

We are further informed that teſtimony was procured by him of the perſons who compoſed the Pittſburgh Committee, and in a letter of the ſecretary to the governor, he ſays that Mr. Gallatin was one of them; this is alſo a miſtake, for Gallatin and myſelf were both attending the General Aſſembly of the ſtate in Philadelphia at the time of the Pittſburgh Committee.

Theſe proceedings encouraged thoſe who were diſpoſed to oppoſe the execution of the exciſe law, to exult in the weakneſs of the adminiſtration of the revenue, and confirmed their belief, that a law which could not be executed would be repealed. When the head officer of the Diſtrict was aſhamed to appear in defence of it, people who knew there was no danger did not aſcribe his behaviour to fear, even thoſe who were convinced of the neceſſity of ſubmiſion and would otherwiſe have contributed to promote it, thought it prudent to be ſilent.

From this time the number and boldneſs of thoſe, who violently oppoſed the law, and maltreated the officers who executed it and the citizens who complied with it, viſibly encreaſed. It was not till after this that perſons were put in jeopardy for entering their ſ ills; and the ſecretary acknowledges that the laws

appeared during 1793 to be gaining ground, that ſeveral principal diſtillers who formerly held out had complied, and that others diſcovered a diſpoſition to comply, which was only reſtrained by the fear of violence. I will add that as far as I was acquainted with the diſtillers, the compliance would have been general, if adequate protection had been afforded by government.

It was not however an expenſive protection that was deſired or neceſſary. The preſence and authority of a court of juſtice would have anſwered every neceſſary purpoſe, and leſs would not do. The neceſſity of a federal court going into that country, or of competent powers being veſted in the ſtate courts, had been ſuggeſted to the Preſident, and urged on the ſecretary of the treaſury, who at that time was not only the reſponſible head of the revenue department, but who alſo at that time originated the revenue laws, as well as directed the arrangements for the execution of them.

On a full conviction of the propriety of this meaſure, Congreſs in March 1793 enacted a law to enable the federal judiciary to hold ſpecial ſeſſions nearer the place where crimes were committed, than thoſe to which the ſeſſions of the circuit court had been fixed by law. Thoſe who anxiouſly wiſhed to ſee the dignity and authority of the laws ſupported, expected that a ſpecial ſeſſion would have been held in the weſtern counties with all convenient ſpeed. If this had been done, I am certain there would have been no Inſurrection.

But far from applying this cheap, rational and efficacious remedy, the diſorders were permitted to go on and encreaſe till July 1794. Previous to this how-

ever, on the fifth of June, authority was veſted in the ſtate courts to try cauſes ariſing under the revenue laws. Though this important improvement in the laws was too long delayed, yet if it had been fairly exerciſed, even at this late period, extraordinary exertions would have been unneceſſary, but theſe ordinary and ſalutary methods of preventing the evil appear never to have been ſeriouſly deſigned.

Previous to the neceſſary powers being veſted in the ſtate courts, proceſſes had privately iſſued out of the diſtrict court at Philadelphia, but the execution of them was delayed till July following, when the marſhal was ſent to the weſtern counties to ſerve the proceſſes in the midſt of the hurry of harveſt, when men's minds are agitated with unuſual care and their bodies with vigorous exertions, and when to the heat of the ſeaſon and the competition of labour is generally added the ſtimulus of ardent ſpirits. At this unfortunate period the marſhal arrived and ſerved the proceſſes, which required the diſtillers to appear at the diſtrict court in Philadelphia. I do not mean that people drink more ardent ſpirits in harveſt in this coutry, than in other places, where there is no other ſubſtitute. It is drunk on theſe occaſions in as great quantities on the eaſt ſide of the mountains as it is on the weſt.

He ſerved all the proceſſes that were directed to the diſtillers of Fayette County, thirty four in number, without interruption, and had been equally ſucceſsful in ſerving all thoſe in Waſhington County, till the very laſt writ, when he unfortunately went into Pittſburgh.

Before I proceed further it is proper to remark, that during the firſt two years the number who committed infractions on the laws were comparatively ſmall and confined to but a few places, that in the laſt year as the diſpoſition among the diſtillers to comply with the law became more evident, the oppoſition to it became more violent, and was carried on in other and more alarming methods, that during this period the treaſury department either wholly neglected it or tampered with it, in ſuch a manner as was only calculated to encourage the oppoſition and diſcourage every exertion of well diſpoſed citizens to ſupport the law. It is an undoubted fact that the manner in which the execution of the law was conducted, while it invited oppoſition gave alarming apprehenſions to men of diſcernment; for, they could not otherwiſe account for it than by ſuppoſing, that the diſorders were deſignedly foſtered until they would produce a more ſerious iſſue. Many of them knew that he who ſtood at the helm of the revenue department had no averſion to being employed as a pilot in a ſtorm. When the whole method of conducting the coercion of the laws, both as to time and manner, is compared with the criſis produced by it, and the ſubſequeut proceedings relative to that criſis, are taken into conſideration and judiciouſly examined, the candid reader will be the better qualified to judge of the reaſonableneſs of theſe apprehenſions.

It is true the ſecretary aſſigns ſome reaſons in his report for this negligence, but they are not found, they are indeed ſcarcely plauſible. Did the laws give him any more power to diſpenſe with the application of their coercive powers, than it did to the people in

their non-compliance. The conſtitution has indeed veſted the humane and ſalutary power of pardoning in the Preſident, but has not veſted the power of granting impunity in the commiſſion of crimes, nor of diſpenſing with the execution of the laws in the ſecretary. That impunity, which evidently contributes to promote oppoſition to the laws, and increaſe the number and the crimes of offenders, is undeſerving of the name of lenity. It is a refinement in cruelty.

CHAP. VII.

WHEN the inſpector came to Pittſburgh, he expreſſed his ſurpriſe and ſatisfaction that he had ſucceeded in ſerving the proceſſes without meeting with either injury or inſult: what a pity it was that he delayed to ſerve the laſt one? Some who were preſent when he expreſſed ſurpriſe at his ſucceſs, were equally ſurpriſed that he ſhould have expected any oppoſition. However, a too ſucceſsful method was ſoon found to promote oppoſition and excite outrage, I do not ſay with deſign.

The next day, in company with the inſpector, he went to ſerve the laſt writ on a diſtiller named Miller, near Peter's creek. On leaving the place, a number of men were obſerved as if in purſuit of them and one gun was diſcharged; not, however, it is believed, with a deſign to do execution. It is well known that, if the deſign had been to ſhoot one, or either of them, they could not have eſcaped from ſo many men, few

of whom I ſuppoſe would have miſſed their aim at a pigeon or the head of a ſquirrel. Appearing, however, to be in bad humour, the marſhal and inſpector rode off.

It is uſual in that, and perhaps in every other, country, where day labourers are ſcarce, for the neighbours mutually to aſſiſt each other as their grain becomes ripe, and this being the throng time of harveſt will eaſily account for ſo many people being together as has been repreſented; the number has been differently ſtated, ſome accounts making it only ten, while others have extended it as high as thirty.

The marſhal behaved well, and would have been finally ſucceſsful, if he had finiſhed ſerving the writ before he called on the inſpector. I have never heard a reaſon aſſigned for his ſtopping ſhort, and going to Pittſburgh, before he completed the buſineſs; or, for his bringing the inſpector with him. The inſpector knew there were deſigns againſt himſelf, and he had procured arms, and otherwiſe prepared his houſe for an expected attack. He ought not to have involved the marſhal in the ſame riſk with himſelf, and the marſhal ought to have conſidered that, however unreaſonable the diſtinction is, the people in Europe as well as here, have always made a great difference between an officer of exciſe and the officer of a court of juſtice. The laſt ſeems, as if he ſhared in the ſolemn reſpectability of the judiciary, and the firſt, as if he partook of the odium of the tax, the collecting of which he ſuperintends.

The people of Waſhington and Allegany counties, have been charged with a capricious inconſiſtency of

character. They have complained of perſons of bad character being appointed for collectors of the exciſe tax, and were offended at general Nevil accepting of the office of inſpector, whoſe popularity of character was acknowledged by themſelves. This paradox, however, may be explained.

During the continuance of the ſtate exciſe general Nevil was one of the greateſt declaimers againſt it, and of the moſt open encouragers of oppoſition to it. When Graham, the ſtate exciſe-man was ſhaved, had his hair cut, and expelled from the county, if he did not patronize that outrage he openly approved of it, and ſaid they did not uſe the raſcal half as bad as he deſerved. In the aſſembly of the ſtate, which preceded that which ſat when the exciſe law was enacted by Congreſs, he voted againſt the repeal of the ſtate direct tax in order to make way for repealing the ſtate exciſe. In the ſubſequent aſſembly he voted for the reſolutions againſt the paſſage of the exciſe law then before Congreſs. He and I ſat and voted together for them, and we had always agreed in our principles reſpecting exciſes, though I never agreed with him in opinion that the exciſe officers ought to be ill-treated.

It was but a few days after he voted for the reſolutions cenſuring the law, that he himſelf accepted of the office of inſpector of that very ſurvey, in which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his oppoſition to the collecting of the ſtate exciſe. The people were the more irritated againſt him, on being informed that when he was told that he would forfeit the good opinion of his neighbours, from whoſe good will he had held any office which he choſe, and which they had in their

power to beſtow, anſwered he did not regard their good will, he had got an independent ſalary of 600 a year; I ſuppoſe he meant Dollars, but it paſſed among the people for pounds. I for ſome time thought the whole ſtory fabricated in order to excite more effectually the popular odium againſt him, but I was afterwards informed of it by authority, too ſubſtantial to leave room for doubt, and too well diſpoſed to admit a ſuſpicion of deſign.

The authority of the law, and the dictates of cool philoſophy will not admit of the people connecting their ſubmiſſion to the law with their reſpect for the man. But we muſt in our dealings with men, take human nature as it is, and admit that prejudice and paſſion will have their ſway in directing the conduct of the great maſs of mankind. All are not lawyers, all are not philoſophers, nor do lawyers and philoſophers always regulate their conduct by their own precepts.

They looked on the inſpector as giving up his principles for a bribe, and bartering the confidence they had in him for money, and were the more irritated at his ſpeaking ſo contemptuouſly of their good opinion, which he had been formerly ſo ſolicitous to obtain. There is alſo a great averſion among the maſs of the people to ſalary officers. This has even diſcovered itſelf againſt the county judges, though their ſalaries are but moderate.

The inſpector was certainly early ſenſible of his loſs of popularity. I obſerved it when he came to Philadelphia, the firſt winter after he had accepted of the office. When I called to ſee him at his lodgings, he told me with joy that he had lodged in Greenſburgh

all night and been well treated. I expreſſed my ſurpriſe that he ſhould have any other expectations. He anſwered that he had heſitated greatly about venturing into it, but not finding any convenient road to paſs it he had finally determined to go in. I have not found that any threats had been made againſt him there, or any other place at that time. Certainly if we are in the way of our duty we ought to diſcover confidence. Cauſeleſs fears invite inſult.

The ſecretary aſſerts that Waſhington County has uniformly diſtinguiſhed its reſiſtance by a more exceſſive ſpirit, than has appeared in the other counties, and ſeems to have been chiefly inſtrumental in kindling and keeping alive the flame. This character is admitted to be well founded. That part of it which lays adjacent to the Monongahela and contiguous to general Nevil's reſidence has been called the center of oppoſition, and was undoubtedly the cradle of the inſurrection. As their character is equally good with thoſe of other parts of the weſtern counties, the only reaſon I have heard aſſigned for their diſtinguiſhing themſelves in this manner was their reſentment of general Nevil's conduct. It was with theſe very people he had formerly enjoyed that popularity, which brought him into the ſupreme executive council, the Convention, and frequently into the Aſſembly of the ſtate for Waſhington County, before that part of it where he reſides was included in Allegany county, and it was to that part of Allegany, which was taken from Waſhington, to which the violences committed in it were confined.

The committee of conferees who met with the Preſident's commiſſioners at Pittſburgh, of whom we ſhall hear further preſently, ſtated this prejudice againſt the officer, as a cauſe of the oppoſition, and the declaration that Miller made of his own feelings is a proof that reſentment prevailed over every other conſideration. It is aſſerted that he ſaid that he felt himſelf mad with paſſion, that he thought having to pay 250 Dollars and attend the court of Philadelphia would ruin him: That he felt his blood boil at ſeeing general Nevil along to pilot the officer to his very door: That he had been as much againſt the exciſe law as any body, when old Graham, the exciſe man was ſeized, had his hair cut, &c. he had heard general Nevil ſay they ought to have cut the ears of the old raſcal, and when the diſtillers were fined he talked as much againſt it as any body, and thoſe feelings were not peculiar to him alone, they were general in that part of the country.

I would willingly have avoided this digreſſion if I could have done juſtice to the cauſe without it, but as I undertake to develope the cauſes which promoted, and the circumſtances which characteriſed, the firſt popular tumults which alarmed and threatened to convulſe the moſt extenſive federal republic on which the ſun ha e er ſhone, and which occaſioned the equipment and marching of the firſt formidable militia army raiſed u der the federal gover ment, and the firſt inſtance of br ther being called to fight with brother, or of of an army of 15,000 men being marched from two to four hundred miles, in order to aſſiſt the marſhal of the diſtrict to ſeize and tranſport a few perſons

to a priſon, in order to ſtand a trial above three hundred miles from their place of reſidence; every ſtep taken in this important criſis will be of importance to poſterity, and improved by them either as precedents to be imitated or miſtakes to be avoided. The firſt cauſes which have led to, or impelled, the moſt alarming events in ſociety, have too generally been overlooked in hiſtory. Theſe, however, are of the greateſt importance to be known, becauſe by an early attention to them great miſchiefs might be prevented at a ſmall expence.

CHAP. VIII.

THE marſhal returned from Miller's to Pittſburgh, and the inſpector went to his own houſe ſome miles diſtant from Miller's. On the ſame day the Mingo creek regiment rendezvouſed in order to form a ſelect corps of militia, as their quota of the 80,000 men required by Congreſs. In the evening before they parted, they received information of the inſpector having been with the marſhal at Miller's ſerving writs, and of his having been chaſed away from there. Early next morning John Holcroft, the reputed author of Tom Tinker's letters, and about thirty-ſix others, moſt of whom had been at the militia rendezvous, with arms in their hands, appeared at the houſe of the inſpector; on being aſked by him what their buſineſs was, and anſwering in a ſuſpicious manner, they were, without further provocation, fired on from the houſe, and after returning the fire, they were fired on by the negroes from the adjoining buildings. Being thus unexpectedly attacked in flank they retired, having ſix

wounded, one of them mortally; the inſpector's family received no injury; he had been appriſed, ſometime before the arrival of the marſhal, of an attack being meditated againſt him by ſome members of the Mingo creek aſſociation, and prepared to repel it by ſetting thick plank againſt the windows, and by procuring a ſufficient number of arms to put the negroes in a ſtate of defence. This was not known to the aſſailants.

Some of the circumſtances relating to this tranſaction, have been differently ſtated, by the late ſecretary and others. The number of the rioters has been called about one hundred, and they are charged with having commenced the attack. They did not, however, exceed thirty-ſix and it has been proved on oath before the circuit court, that the inſpector began the attack before any outrage had been attempted by Holcroft's party. No doubt he had reaſon to ſuſpect that their deſign was to compel him to ſurrender his papers and reſign his commiſſion. He had been warned of ſuch a deſign and it was probably only accelerated by his aſſiſting at ſerving the writs, and perhaps conducted by other hands. Unfortunately, however, it did not end here. That reſentment which formerly diſcovered itſelf by caſual exceſſes in which comparatively few were engaged, and thoſe few generally perſons of violent paſſions and little diſcretion, now aſſumed the tone of unreflecting madneſs, and drew into its vortex many perſons of good morals, and who uſually diſcovered a reſpectable meaſure of diſcretion in all their dealings as men and citizens.

By the mortification of the defeat, and by the flame of reſentment kindled by one of Holcroft's party being killed, and ſo many wounded, all regard for conſequences was ſwallowed up by the paſſions of the moment, and uncommon exertions were made that night to prepare for accompliſhing their object next day. The vicinity of the Mingo creek aſſociation which included a large proportion of that regiment, contributed greatly to their ſucceſs; by means of that aſſociation they were prepared like a diſciplined phalanx to act with vigour agreeably to whatever direction they took, and were as a centre for others to rally round. It is generally agreed that next morning not leſs than 500 men moſtly armed, rendezvouſed at Couche's fort, a few miles from the inſpector's houſe. Many attended ſolely becauſe they had not firmneſs ſufficient to refuſe.

While they were deliberating what was beſt to be done, the reverend Mr. Clark, a venerable and very old clergyman, expoſtulated with them on the impropriety of their enterpriſe, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade them from it; but they conſidered his ſentiments to proceed from the cold caution and timidity naturally attendant on extreme age; and looking on him, perhaps, to be in his dotage, and unfit to adviſe in affairs not ſuited to his time of life, they unfortunately deſpiſed his counſel, and ſuffered themſelves to be carried on by the hurricane of their irritated and blind paſſions.

From Couche's fort they marched to the inſpector's houſe. They elected a committee of three to ſuperintend the enterpriſe; the committee appointed ma-

jor M' Farlane tocommand the party, ſubject however to its direction. The orders were to demand and obtain the inſpector's commiſſion and papers, and to offer no violence to his perſon, family or property, farther than would be abſolutely neceſſary for accompliſhing this object. The horſes were left under a guard in the woods, and the committee took their ſeat on an eminence at ſome diſtance from the inſpector's houſe.

Major Kirkpatrick, with a detachment of eleven men from the garriſon at Pittſburgh, had arrived that morning to aſſiſt the Inſpector, who when informed of the force that was coming againſt him thought it prudent to withdraw to a place of concealment, and not having a proſpect of defending the houſe left it in charge of his kinſman Kirkpatrick, with directions to make a capitulation in favour of the property if practicable, if not to defend it as long as poſſible.

When Major M' Farlane with the aſſailants approached the houſe, a flag was ſent from the Committee to demand of the inſpector to deliver up his papers. On anſwer being returned that the inſpector had left the houſe, a ſecond flag was ſent, and demand made that ſix perſons ſhould be admitted into the houſe to ſearch for his papers, and take them. This demand however was abſolutely refuſed. Notice was then given by a third flag, for the miſtreſs of the family and ſuch other females as were in the houſe to withdraw, which being done the firing commenced. About fifteen minutes after a call was heard from the houſe, and thoſe within ceaſed firing; upon which major M' Farlane ſtepping from behind a tree, and commanding

his party to deſiſt from firing, received a deadly ſhot from the houſe and inſtantly expired. The aſſailants believing that the ceſſation of firing in the houſe and the call from it, was a feint to put them off their guard, and that M‘ Farlane was killed by a ſhot aimed at him in time of parley, concluded that he was murdered, and becoming exceedingly enraged, renewed the firing with great vigour. While a meſſage was ſent to the Committee to enquire whether the houſe ſhould be ſtormed, a man without any orders ſet fire to ſome ſtraw in the barn, which communicated the flame to the whole building, and ſoon extended itſelf to the adjacent buildings. The intenſe heat and danger of the flame immediately communicating to the dwelling houſe, obliged Major Kirkpatrick and his party to ſurrender, and they were received and diſmiſſed without injury.

When it is conſidered that the aſſailants believed that their leader was ſhot with deſign by Major Kirkpatrick himſelf, and that they diſmiſſed him and his party without injury, it muſt be admitted that notwithſtanding they were enraged to a degree of madneſs, they diſcovered no inclination for wantonly ſhedding blood. Kirkpatrick and M‘ Farlane had been both officers through the whole courſe of the late war with Great Britain. What a pity, that thoſe who had fought together in ſo good a cauſe ſhould have had the misfortune, the one to ſhed the other's blood in a cauſe ſo ill judged and ſo indiſcreetly conducted. I never ſaw M‘ Farlane ſo as to know him, but I had long heard him ſpoken of as a well-behaved reſpectable citizen, who had made an independent fortune by honeſt

induſtry, and I cannot find that he was ever concerned in any other outrage before this day which to him was fatal.

Many incidents relative to this unhappy affair have been very differently repreſented. However they are not very important: but it will readily be obſerved that in one particular of ſome importance, I have contradicted the report of the late ſecretary. When the aſſailants demanded the Inſpector's papers, he aſſerts that they were anſwered, that they might ſend perſons to ſearch the houſe, and to take away whatever papers they could find appertaining to his office. But not ſatisfied with this they inſiſted unconditionally, that the armed men, who were in the houſe for its defence, ſhould march out and ground their arms, which Major Kirkpatrick peremptorily refuſed, conſidering it, and repreſenting it to them, as a proof of a deſign to deſtroy the property. This refuſal put an end to the parly. However what I have ſtated is the truth, confirmed by ſolemn teſtimony taken before the circuit court, and the truth or falſehood of this fact was what in a great meaſure diſtinguiſhed the character and marked the aggravation of the crime. As ſtated by the ſecretary, it was their object to treat the detachment of the Federal troops as enemies in a ſtate of war, and to treat the houſe as a garriſon which they had a right to plunder or not, as they ſaw cauſe. If this was true, it was a rebellion in form, and conſtituted unequivocally the crime of treaſon. If his ſtatement was not true, it was only a riot of the ſame nature of thoſe attacks formerly made on Wells and others, only differing in force. Though his account of it is certainly fallacious, yet it was on the ſuppoſed validity of it

that the aſſociate judge gave the certificate, preparatory to calling out an army, and occaſioned the offence to be tried on a charge of treaſon.

The houſe of the inſpector was burned, and beſides his furniture, which was valuable, a number of certificates and other papers of importance to a large amount, were alſo conſumed. The certificates, however, being loaned and regiſtered, were not loſt. It was a pity, that as he was warned of the danger and had early prepared for defence, he did not think of removing his own private papers. Major Kirkpatrick had been a brave and experienced officer, but ſurely a deſperate defence, without even a chance of ſucceſs, and with the certain deſtruction of much valuable property, can be intitled to no other epithet than raſhneſs. True bravery is always connected with prudence. The marſhal, and colonel Preſsly Nevil, ſon of the inſpector, came up juſt after the houſe was burned. There is reaſon to preſume that if colonel Nevile had arrived in time, he would have ſaved the property, by agreeing to the terms of the aſſailants, agreeably to the inſtructions of his father, which major Kirkpatrick diſregarded. The marſhal muſt have been convinced that he was in jeopardy before, by being in company with the inſpector; his putting himſelf in evident jeopardy again, when he had no writs to ſerve nor means of ſuppreſſing the riot, may ſpeak in favour of his courage and the goodneſs of his heart, but not of his prudence; he and colonel Nevil were diſmiſſed without injury, but not without difficulty and riſk.

It is to be regretted, that citizens of good moral character and diſcretion ſhould have engaged in ſuch

a criminal enterprise; yet some good arose out of this circumstance. If it had not been for such characters being embarked with those of another description, undoubtedly much more blood would have been shed. There were several, who expressed an intention of killing major Kirkpatrick, and who threatened colonel Nevil and the marshal; but there was on this and all other occasions through the insurrection so many men of discretion as prevented any person from being killed or maimed by the insurgents, except the few that were wounded at the attack on Nevil's house.

Before they parted, probably at the funeral of major M'Farlane, they appointed a meeting to be held at Mingo creek. This meeting was composed of a number of those who had been at the inspector's house, some others in the vicinity, who had refused to join in that measure, and a few individuals from Pittsburgh and those parts of Fayette county which lay most contiguous. At this meeting Messrs. Bradford, Marshal, Cook, and Brackenridge, whose names became so conspicuous afterwards, appeared publicly, for the first time, on the stage. It appears that Bradford and Marshal were consulted at the town of Washington, previous to the second attack on Nevil's house, and it is said that at first they declined having any thing to do with it; but having once consented they were afterwards considered as leaders. At this meeting Bradford, in a violent and lengthy harangue, openly advocated what had been done, urged the propriety and necessity of unanimity in making it a common cause, &c.

Marshal endeavoured to change the state of the question into an enquiry, what was best to be done, in

preference to deciding on the merits of what had been done.

Brackenridge, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, drew their attention by amuſing them and ſeeming to countenance their conduct; but before he concluded he ventured to ſuggeſt, that though what they had done might be morally right, yet it was legally wrong, and ſuggeſted the propriety of their conſulting their fellow citizens in the other parts of the ſurvey, and in the mean time of their ſending commiſſioners to the Preſident. He endeavoured to convince them of the bad policy of having thoſe that had not been engaged in the attack on the inſpector involved, becauſe in that caſe they could not act as mediators for thoſe who were obnoxious The meeting was divided in opinion about the ſentiments he expreſſed; ſome thought he was warm in the cauſe, but the more violent were offended: It was pleaſing, however, to thoſe who, like himſelf, were not yet involved. He had been ſent for by ſome of the leaders, but declined coming till he was adviſed to it by colonel Nevil, who aſſiſted in procuring others to accompany him, to be witneſſes of his conduct. He retired before the meeting reſolved on any meaſures.

The only meaſure agreed on before the meeting broke up was, to call a meeting of the four counties, which they publiſhed in the following words. "By "a reſpectable number of citizens, who met on Wed- "neſday the 23d inſtant, (July,) at the meeting-houſe "on Mingo creek, it is recommended to the town- "ſhips of the four weſtern counties of Pennſylvania, "and the neighbouring counties of Virginia, to meet,

" and chooſe, not more than five, nor leſs than two,
" repreſentatives, to meet at Parkiſon's ferry, on the
" Monongahela, on Thurſday the 14th day of Auguſt
" next, to take into conſideration the ſituation of the
" weſtern country."

Though this was moved for by the well diſpoſed, and cautiouſly worded by the chairman and ſecretary, and deſigned by them as a means of ſtopping the diſorder, and procuring an amneſty for the guilty, yet that it was deſigned to be uſed by Bradford and ſome others, to draw the whole weſtern counties of Pennſylvania and Virginia into the vortex of inſurrection, is evident from their ſubſequent conduct.

Though no other plan was propoſed at the meeting, it was but a few days until Bradford, who now aſſumed the direction of the buſineſs, planned and procured the execution of another enterpriſe, which, though not ſo formidable as that already atchieved, was equally an outrage on the laws and alarming to government. It was the robbing of the weſtern mail. This plan was executed three days after the meeting, on the poſt-road, about ten miles from Greenſburgh, and twenty two from Pittſburgh, by a nameſake and near relation of Bradford's and a man named Mitchel, both from Waſhington county. It is not certain that any but himſelf were concerned in laying the plan, but it was only two days after the mail was robbed that Bradford and others went to Canonſburgh, ſeven miles from Waſhington, with the Waſhington and Pittſburgh mail in their ſaddle bags. When they opened the mails, that from Waſhington contained no letters on the meaſures that had been purſued; but the Pittſburgh mail contained

letters from general Gibſon, colonel Nevil, Mr. Bryſon, and Mr. Day which gave great offence. They contained a ſtatement of the attack on Nevil's houſe, and the ſentiments expreſſed by Bradford at the Mingo meeting. Theſe were taken out, and the reſt put up carefully, to be returned to Pittſburgh.

Though theſe letters contained little elſe than a ſtate of the facts as they really happened, they were made the engine of bringing about the Braddock's field meeting.

At Cannonſburgh the following circular letter was agreed upon, and directed to the militia officers in the ſame manner as an order would have iſſued from the proper authority, and was in ſeveral regiments as promptly obeyed. By ſuch officers as wiſhed to promote the meaſure the people were called on as for a uſual tour of militia duty, without being informed of the contents of the circular letter which is as follows:

" Sir.

" Having had ſuſpicions that the Pittſburgh poſt would carry with him the ſentiments of ſome of the people in the country, reſpecting our preſent alarming ſituation; and the letters by the poſt being now in our poſſeſſion, by which certain ſecrets are diſcovered, hoſtile to our intereſt, it is therefore now come to that criſis, that every citizen muſt expreſs his ſentiments not by his words but his actions. You are then called on, as a citizen of the weſtern country, to render your perſonal ſervice, with as many volunteers as you can raiſe, to rendezvous at your uſual place of meeting, on Wedneſday next; and from thence you will march to the uſual place of rendezvous at Braddock's field, on the Monongahela, on Friday the firſt day of

Auguſt next, to be there at two o'clock in the afternoon, with arms and accoutrements in good order. If any volunteers ſhould want arms and ammunition, bring them forward, and they ſhall be ſupplied as well as poſſible. Here, ſir, is an expedition propoſed, in which you will have an opportunity of diſplaying your military talents, and of rendering ſervice to your country; four days proviſion will be wanted, let the men be thus ſupplied."

This general order was ſigned *I. Canon, B. Parkiſon D. Bradford, A. Fulton, T. Speers, I. Lockry, J. Marſhal.*

Colonel Marſhal had been an early ſettler in the weſtern counties, and a uſeful citizen, during the courſe of the late war with Britain, and the territorial controverſy with Virginia. He was ſucceſſively, Regiſter, High Sheriff, member of the ratifying convention, of the legiſlature, county lieutenant, and again regiſter in Waſhington County; and was reſpectable for the diſcretion he diſcovered in the diſcharge of the duties of the reſpective offices he filled. In the ratifying convention, he voted in favour of amendments previous to ratification, but refuſed to ſign the reaſons of the minority. Moderation was thought to have been a leading trait in his character. He is an induſtrious man, and poſſeſſes property to a large amount. From theſe circumſtances, the part he took in the inſurrection was truly ſurpriſing. He had come from the north of Ireland in his youth.

Bradford had been deputy of the attorney general of the ſtate, from the time that Waſhington had been erected into a ſeparate county. He was originally from Maryland, where he ſtudied law, and had been a member

of the Virginia Aſſembly, before the ſettlement of the boundary line of the ſtate, and ſtill practiſed law in ſome of the courts of that ſtate. He had favoured the plan of forming a new ſtate. At the time of the adoption of the federal government, he was one of its moſt zealous advocates in that country.

Parkiſon, a Pennſylvanian by birth, has always reſided in that ſtate. He alſo was a federaliſt, and had ſupported general Nevil's intereſt formerly, was reputed a good citizen, a man of influence in his neighbourhood, had been a juſtice of the peace before the reviſion of the conſtitution of the ſtate, was preſident of the Mingo creek aſſociation, and one of the committee who ſuperintended the operations in the attack on Nevil's houſe.

Canon was from Cheſter county in Pennſylvania, had long been a reſpectable citizen ſouth of the Monongahela, lived in the town called by his name, had attached himſelf to the government of Virginia, and favoured the idea of a new ſtate. He was afterwards a member of the legiſlature, and was an early advocate for the federal conſtitution, and a ſupporter of general Nevil's intereſt in that country.

Fulton was from Maryland; he was not only a federaliſt, but an open advocate of the exciſe law, indeed the moſt openly ſo, of any I have met with in the weſtern counties, and an avowed friend of the Inſpector. He kept a large diſtillery, and expected by the operation of the exciſe law to have a conſiderable advantage over the ſmall diſtillers. He had alſo erected a brewery. I have never been able to account for the inconſiſtency of his conduct.

I know little of Speers or Lochry. The laſt was lately from Cheſter county and attended Col. Marſhal's mill. He perhaps ſigned without reflecting what he was doing. The other had lived ſeveral years at Canonſburgh and kept ſtore; he might have been active at this time, but I preſume he was not very influential.

There were but three days from the date of the orders to circulate the information and prepare for the rendezvous. Great exertions were made however in communicating the circular letters, and though many who probably wiſhed to ſuppreſs them durſt not, there were ſome who did keep them ſecret, and ſome clergymen and others in the ſouth of Waſhington county were active and ſucceſsful with their neighbours in diſſuading them from going. What had already taken place was aggravated and miſrepreſented, more were ſaid to have been killed and wounded than really were, men's minds were in a ſtate of conſternation and ſuſpenſe, and the ambiguous manner in which the circular orders were written excited men whoſe minds were already agitated to expect that ſome wonderful diſcovery had been made, and that ſome great event was about to take place.

In this interval three men from the town of Waſhington undertook to carry the mail back to Pittſburgh. Under cover of this errand they correſponded with a committee of the town, informed it of the meaſures that were purſuing, and particularly of the deſigns of Bradford and his friends againſt the perſons in Pittſburgh, who had written to Philadelphia a ſtatement of the preſent ſituation of the country, and of the danger the town might be expoſed to on their ac-

count. They alſo aſſured the committee that a number of well diſpoſed men would mix with the others to attend the rendezvous at Braddock's field, in order to have the better opportunity of preventing exceſſes. Three of the perſons, who had written the letters, and who had it in their power to retire for ſome time without much inconveniency, and who of their own accord were diſpoſed to do ſo, agreed to ſubmit to the form of an expulſion by the committee.

On the day of rendezvous it was ſuppoſed, that a mixed multitude, not much ſhort of ſeven thouſand, appeared on the ground. But from examining the population of the country from which they were collected, it is not probable that their number was near ſo great. Many of thoſe who did attend were without arms. Several field officers in the vicinity of Braddock's field attended, with as many of their friends as they could collect, to be prepared to prevent exceſſes, and ſave Pittſburgh if it ſhould be in danger, and ſome of the field officers of the moſt formidable and warlike corps who attended are known to have been well diſpoſed to peace and order.

The greateſt number was from Waſhington county, but though thoſe from the Regiment about the town of Waſhington came in force, with the general of the county and their colonel at their head, yet it is notorious that general Taylor and colonel Stokely were uniformly oppoſed to the whole ſyſtem of outrage and reſiſtance. Colonel Hamilton of the Mingo creek Battalion was alſo oppoſed to it, and when he heard of the orders of march coming to his Regiment, though he had not ſeen them himſelf, he rode with all

poſſible ſpeed to the county town to countermand them, but too late to have effect. Every thing was conducted with a rapidity characteriſtic of the indiſcretion that governed the conductors of the meaſures. General Wilkin with a great many others of his Alleganv county Brigade were well diſpoſed. This was particularly the caſe with colonel Patterſon, and colonel M'Nair and their friends, and alſo with the principal part of the citizens from Pittſburgh. There was but one Major and a company of about 60 men from Weſtmoreland county, who appeared in a ſtate of preparation according to the orders. The Major is ſaid to have diſcovered a warlike diſpoſition. Many however from the two adjacent townſhips in Weſtmoreland county went to be ſpectators of what was carrying on and encreaſed the croud. Some of theſe might have gone with a bad diſpoſition, and ſome might have caught the infection when they were there. I have not however heard of any remark made on the conduct of any of them, except the Major to whom I have alluded. I am certain the colonel and majors of the neareſt Weſtmoreland Battalion were well diſpoſed. There were not more than twelve men from Fayette county at Braddock's field. The orders had been ſent to colonel Cook, who concealed them from his moſt intimate neighbours, and went alone to endeavour by his advice to prevent exceſſes. The few others from that county had been informed of the meeting by rumor.

Colonel Cook reſiding in the neareſt part of Fayette to Mingo creek had attended that meeting with the ſame view. He was chairman there and at a number of the ſubſequent meetings. He had been Member of the

firſt convention of Pennſylvania, and was judge of the court of Weſtmoreland, and lieutenant of that county till Fayette county was erected, of which he is now an aſſociate judge. Being an elderly, and eſteemed a diſcreet man he is generally made chairman in all meetings of which he is a member. He has rarely been known to paſs the bounds of diſcretion if we except in the ardour of his zeal for the adoption of the Federal government, he was proportionably mortified at the exciſe law and ſome meaſures that led to it being enacted by that government, but had no hand in the oppoſition made to the exciſe, and put himſelf into ſuſpected ſituations in order to reſtore order. He being generally known through Pennſylvania was much ſpoken againſt. He went to Philadelphia and entered into recognizance, but there was no cauſe of action found againſt him. His having been chairman in all meetings and committees connected with the inſurrection, is the reaſon of this digreſſion.

Bradford reviewed the troops on the ground, and is ſaid to have aſſumed the powers and to have received the honours of Major-general. There is no doubt but that he received every honour that could be conferred. The infatuated diſorganizers idoliſed him, and thoſe who held him in contempt, and looked on the meaſures with horror, were many of them the moſt obſequious in their attentions to him. They believed that at that moment expulſion or even more ſevere puniſhment depended on his will. His denunciation of cowards and traitors, and holding up Roberſpiere's ſyſtem of terror for imitation at the Mingo creek meeting, was well known to them, and ſpread a temporary panic.

A committee was apointed at the rendezvous, who reſolved that general Gibſon and colonel Neyil ſhould be expelled, and authoriſed the Pittſburgh committee to put this reſolution into execution. It was reſolved that the army, as it was called, ſhould march to Pittſburgh. On this occaſion the people of Pittſburgh went forward to prepare for giving them the moſt hoſpitable reception in their power, that they might paſs through it with good humour. Bradford alſo ſent to the commandant of the garriſon to inform him that no harm was intended, and to requeſt being permitted to paſs peaceably. They marched in, however, by the Monongahela road which did not lead to the garriſon, and being furniſhed with refreſhments in Pittſburgh by the towns-people, they croſſed the Monongahela without giving any diſturbance.

After croſſing the river many returned to their homes, and theſe were no doubt the moſt orderly. A great number of the well diſpoſed people had previouſly gone to their homes from Braddock's field. A number, however, ſtayed over night near Pittſburgh, and in the night burned a ſmall barn, the property of major Kirkpatrick, with the grain it contained, which was then the property of a tenant. They attempted alſo to burn the dwelling houſe, but were prevented by the interpoſition of colonel Hamilton, &c. who with difficulty ſaved it. About the ſame time, a party who had parted from the main body and remained in Pittſburgh, attempted to burn Kirkpatrick's dwelling houſe in the town, but were prevented by the interpoſition of colonel Cook, and a brother of major M'Farlane, who

had been killed, aſſiſted by the addreſs of Mr. Brackenridge.

It will naturally be enquired what was the object of this mighty rendezvous of men. Nothing appears to have been done or attempted by thoſe who directed it, but ordering two more of the citizens of Pittſburgh to be expelled. This might have been as well accompliſhed by ſending a deputation to Pittſburgh to deſire that it ſhould be done. However hard it might have appeared to require it, the men would have been wiſe enough to have gone out of the way themſelves till times had altered. To underſtand this we muſt go back to the private meeting at Canonſburgh. It had been there agreed upon to attack the garriſon at Pittſburgh, and ſeize the arms and ammunition for their own defence. They conſidered the conduct of Congreſs in ſeizing the Britiſh poſts, arms, &c. while they remained colonies, petitioning the throne, acknowledging their dependance on it, and endeavouring to have their juſt grounds of complaint removed, to be a precedent perfectly applicable to their caſe. It was in conſequence of this determination that the rendezvous was ordered, but the object was kept ſecret; there were ſome preſent who diſſented.

Thus an enterpriſe of a moſt daring nature was determined on during an hour or two ſpent in a tavern, by men unauthoriſed even by thoſe who had already rendered themſelves obnoxious; for thoſe men were not delegated, and not more than two of them had been perſonally engaged in the attack on the inſpector's houſe. Not only to determine on ſuch a daring and dangerous enterpriſe, but to endeavour to draw the whole

people of the weſtern counties into the execution of it, blindfolded, was ſuch an inconſiderate meaſure as I am at a loſs for words to expreſs my ſentiments of; but I have no doubt that long before this time their own reflections have painted the impropriety of their conduct on their own minds, in colours more glowing than can be repreſented by language.

It was not thus that the revolutionary conteſt was commenced. There was not only the ſlow deliberation of the wiſeſt men ſelected from every colony, but of the moſt diſcreet men in every county and townſhip, and the magnitude of the object was ſet before the people in the moſt remote ſituations, before they were drawn into the arduous conteſt. May the conduct of the Canonſburgh committee be an example to deter from ſuch raſh and impetuous proceedings!

When colonel Hamilton, and ſome others, had diſcovered the deſign of attacking the garriſon, and perſuaded Bradford and Marſhal to countermand the orders, he told them that the arms were for an expedition againſt the Indians under general Scott. Bradford, without even conſulting Marſhal or anſwering a word to Hamilton, wrote the countermand, and handing it to Hamilton aſked him if that would do. He inſerted in a poſtſcript what he had been told of Scott's expedition as a reaſon of the countermand; this firſt brought the deſign of the rendezvous to light; but it ſeems it was now given up; but the rendezvous being carried on, ſome who attended ſtill believed that to have been the object of it, till they were convinced of its being laid aſide by the event. Marſhal wiſhed to

have countermanded the orders ſoon after they were iſſued.

Bradford promiſed Hamilton and others to adviſe the militia, who met at Waſhington, not to march to Braddock's field. They were convened in the court-houſe, and Meſſ. Roſs and Stokely addreſſed them with the moſt powerful reaſons, to diſſuade them from proceeding further. Bradford notwithſtanding his agreement to the contrary, addreſſed them with vehement declamation in favour of proceeding. They had liſtened attentively to the firſt ſpeakers, but appeared to be ſo influenced by Bradford's ſpeech, that when Marſhal roſe after him to offer ſome reaſons againſt proceeding, he could not be heard, and that night his houſe was tarred and feathered. This expreſſion of reſentment ſeems to have been the reaſon of his proceeding farther in that courſe, from which he ſeemed deſirous of retreating; from this and ſome other inſtances it appears he was not ſo much a leader, as he was led by Bradford, and puſhed forward by his dread of thoſe, whoſe meaſures he had at firſt inconſiderately countenanced.

This was the only open attempt that was made to addreſs the people who were collected by the circular letter, and if it had not been for Bradford the attempt would have been ſucceſsful. It was with great difficulty they were got to parade for the march after leaving the court houſe; few but young men and boys appeared willing; but it was not thought proper they ſhould go alone, and if any marched it had been agreed among the moderate people that they would go in company. Colonel Stokely, though he had openly oppoſed the

meaſure, put himſelf at the head of his regiment, Mr. Roſs the ſenator, general Taylor and others who were equally oppoſed to the meaſures went alſo.

I have been the more particular in relating the rendezvous at Braddock's field, as it had the moſt formidable aſpect, and approached neareſt to the deſcription of a combination againſt the government, of any inſtance that happened during the diſorders; yet when examined, it does not prove to be a combination of the people of any county, but of ſix men in a tavern, who wiſhed, probably, to inflame the people into a combination, which, however, did not take place, for there appears to have been no plan laid, nor combination entered into, at the rendezvous. Ordering the expulſion of the two men and directing the march to Pittſburgh, was conducted by a committee compoſed in part of very orderly well diſpoſed men, who thought it imprudent to object to any meaſure dictated by Bradford, whoſe terror was aided by the occaſional interference of ſome deſperate men who were not of the committee. The march to Pittſburgh, and the expulſion, though very diſagreeable to the committee members from Pittſburgh, was agreed to even by them. No man ever commanded an army, ſo great a proportion of which were traitors to the cauſe, nor had ſuch a deference paid to him with ſo little ſincerity, as Bradford, on this occaſion.

Though this formidable parade made an aſtoniſhing noiſe and appearance, it vaniſhed in ſmoke like a rocket, and left no trace of its tranſactions behind, except the march to Pittſburgh, for the purpoſe of parade; yet its effects were undoubtedly more pernici-

ous than thoſe which were produced by any preceding exceſs. Till now the flame had been confined to a ſmall ſpace; but from this it ſpread to a diſtance. The countenance given to the rendezvous and the acquieſcence in Bradford's meaſures, apparent in the conduct of judges, attornies, the ſenator of Congreſs, and other reſpectable citizens, including the whole of the magiſtrates, other officers, and merchants, of Pittſburgh, the motives for which were not underſtood, gave the appearance of unanimity in the cauſe, and inconſiderate people in other places became aſhamed that they had done nothing. It had been reported from the Mingo meeting, that Bradford and Brackenridge had pledged their lives and fortunes for the lawfulneſs and ſucceſs of the meaſures; their legal abilities were extolled by infatuated people at the time, and it was believed that under their direction the plans muſt be well laid, and judiciouſly conducted, and the countenance given at Braddock's field by ſo many men of ſound judgment and reſpectable character was eſteemed an infallible teſt of the goodneſs of the cauſe. However neceſſary this temporizing conduct was on the occaſion, it had a very bad effect on the country at large. It was believed, however, by thoſe who practiſed it, that this was the moſt certain method of ſaving Pittſburgh, and preventing the effuſion of human blood. Bradford's movements were too rapid to allow time for defenſive arrangements, or to find out in whom they could have confidence. The time had been when Marſhal would have been one of the firſt applied to on ſuch occaſions; the manner in which he and ſome others now acted, made every perſon be ſuſpected till his ſentiments could be une-

quivocally known, and the impreſſions of terror made prudent perſons cautious in divulging their ſentiments.

It was but a few days after this that a party went to the reſidence of Wells in Fayette county, burned his houſe, and compelled him to reſign his commiſſion, and ſwear not to hold the office in future. He was collector for Weſtmoreland and Fayette counties. This party appears to have gone from the parts of Weſtmoreland adjoining, and to have been joined by a few from Fayette. There appears to have been a ſmaller proportion of men of common diſcretion engaged in this than in the attack on Nevil's houſe. The houſe of Wells was burnt without reſiſtance or oppoſition, and againſt the remonſtrance of the moſt prudent; ſeveral were forced by this party to go along with them contrary to their inclination.

Threatening letters were ſent into the center and ſouthern parts of Weſtmoreland to excite them to go againſt Webſter, collector of Bedford, and many poor people in thoſe parts had cauſe of complaint againſt him, which did not exiſt againſt other exciſe officers. He had made a practice of ſeizing liquors on the road from poor people, who were carrying it to procure their ſalt, or other neceſſaries; ſome inſtances of this might be mentioned that were very inhumane; ſometimes he was contented with receiving the exciſe tax and letting the liquors paſs, but generally he kept all, and ſometimes detained the horſes for a time, reſtoring them again as a matter of favour. This hardſhip fell generally on the poor, for he let others paſs, even though they called and drank at his tavern, with their loads. It was believed he did not account with the public for the proceeds

That his conduct was not agreeable to law was aſſerted by the inſpector, when he was applied to, but no redreſs was given, nor was the practice relinquiſhed. The law authoriſing ſeizure was not made till June immediately preceding the inſurrection.

The party who went againſt Webſter were comparatively ſmall, ſome of them were from Bedford county, but much the greateſt number were from the parts of Weſtmoreland adjoining, many of whom had had their liquors unlawfully ſeized by him. They thought it robbery, nor do I know if they thought amiſs. The law ſubjected diſtilleries to the officers, but did not at that time ſubject people travelling on the road who had nothing to do with the entry of ſtills, more than a man taking his griſt to the mill, had to do with the tax having been paid on the mill by its owner.

Webſter made no reſiſtance, but brought out his papers, and tore and trod on them. The party differed among themſelves. Some were for tarring, feathering, &c. Fire was ſet to his hay ſtacks and ſtables, but the more moderate party were the majority. They extinguiſhed the fire and protected the man from any other injury than inſulting language. Not agreeing how he ſhould be treated they took him along with them ſome miles, and apprehenſions being entertained by himſelf and ſome others, of the outrageous party falling back and treating him ill when the others were gone, he was taken into Weſtmoreland and there being lodged in ſafety that night, he was permitted to return home the next day without further injury. He had expected the viſit, probably before it was thought

of by thoſe who made it, and had taken refuge in the town of Bedford; but finding himſelf unſafe there he returned to his own houſe and prepared for the event.

Immediately after the meeting at Mingo creek, Bradford wrote to the principal perſons in the neighbouring counties of Virginia, preſſing them in the moſt urgent manner to ſend Delegates to the meeting, which was appointed to be held at Parkiſon's Ferry. His ſending this letter, and the ſtyle in which it was wrote, indubitably proves the improvement he deſigned to make of the Parkiſon meeting. His robbing the mail, and directing the rendezvous at Braddock's field, were calculated to inflame the minds of the people previouſly to that meeting, and encreaſe the number of thoſe who would be rendered deſperate by their crimes. In this he was but too ſucceſsfull. The threatening letters to excite the people to attack Wells and Webſter, though they have not been traced to Bradford, were no doubt a part of the plan, and by their means and the Braddock's field rendezvous, the infatuation was vaſtly extended and the number of offences was encreaſed, between the meeting at Mingo creek and that at Parkiſon's Ferry. Even in Virginia an Exciſe officer had fled, and a riot was committed at the place of his reſidence.

CHAP. IX.

AFTER the writs had been ſerved on the diſtillers of Fayette county, they held a meeting to conſult what was beſt to be done, at which other diſcreet perſons beſides the diſtillers attended. They felt exceedingly hurt at being obliged to attend the Diſtrict court in Philadelphia, after competent powers had been veſted in the ſtate courts. Yet although the news of the riots and their fatal effects reached them; and although it was known that parties of armed men were then aſſembled, in ſome of the neighbouring counties, in order to intercept the inſpector of the revenue and the marſhal; an idea of combining with the rioters was not even ſuggeſted at the meeting; but on the contrary it was unanimouſly agreed, that in future the diſtillers ſhould either abandon their occupation, or enter their ſtills, and that thoſe who had been ſummoned ſhould immediately evince their ſubmiſſion, by entering an appearance to the reſpective ſuits. In

purſuance of that agreement an expreſs was actually ſent to Philadelphia, council was retained, and inſtructions for legal and conſciencious defence were given; but it ſeems that the writs were made returnable at a time when no court was ſitting; and this error in point of law was deemed ſufficient to vitiate the proceſs; and to ſuperſede the neceſſity of entering the appearance of the ſeveral defendants. During this meeting at Union town, a letter was received, with the propoſition for the meeting of the four Weſtern counties by their delegates at Parkiſon's Ferry. But ſo predominant was the apprehenſion, that ſuch an aſſemblage would encreaſe the degree of inflammation, and extend the influence to greater numbers, and ſo eager was the hope that the riots might be confined to the place where they originated, and might ſubſide or be quelled, without any extraordinary interference, that this propoſition was reluctantly read, and never taken into conſideration. *See Gallatin's ſpeech, pages* 9 *and* 10.

In the county of Weſtmoreland no writs had been ſerved nor riots committed, conſequently they had no meeting of diſtillers nor received any letters; but on ſeeing the appointment of the Parkiſon's Ferry meeting in the gazette, the influential people determined to pay no attention to it, being apprehenſive that the inflammation might be ſpread by it rather than ſuppreſſed, and that it might be conſtrued as giving countenance to the riots which led to that appointment. This advertiſement made ſimilar impreſſions on the people of Pittſburgh alſo at the firſt; but on obſerving the rapid progreſs of the inflammation, and the ſucceſſion of exceſſes which had been promoted, eſpecially the rendezvous

at Braddock's field; the chooſing of diſcreet delegates to attend the Parkiſon meeting, appeared to be the only feaſible means of ſtemming the current of diſorder, until the people, who were ſo highly inflamed, would cool down, and until the cautious and timid would ſhake off the panic, or lay aſide that exceſſive caution, by which they were governed, and ſtand forward in defence of the laws, and of that liberty, whoſe name was proſtituted to blazon the moſt tyrannical meaſures.

Theſe alarming circumſtances made the ſame impreſſion on all the four counties, without any opportunity of conſultation; conſequently the townſhips they contained were generally repreſented at that meeting; but from the ſhort time there was to give warning of this ſecond determination, no means could be adopted to regulate the elections or to impreſs the cautious part of the citizens with a ſenſe of the neceſſity of their attending. The general ſtate of theſe elections cannot be better deſcribed than it is done by Mr. Gallatin, in his ſpeech page 13:

"The meeting was partly a true repreſentation of the people, but it was partly not ſo; for as there is not in this ſtate any regular townſhip meetings; a few individuals collected in any one townſhip might appoint deputies, and the truth is that in almoſt every caſe, a minority of the Inhabitants of the reſpective townſhips did make the appointments, in every townſhip likewiſe where there were any violent characters, ſuch characters would undoubtedly attend the election, while on the other hand moderate men and friends to order were cautious either in attending the elections, or in ſuffering themſelves to be elected.

The meeting at Parkiſon's Ferry was a pretty full though not a true or equal repreſentation. There were upwards of 200 delegates, three of thoſe were from Ohio county in Virginia and two from Bedford county in Pennſylvania, beſides thoſe from the four counties. The place of meeting was unfavourable, being in the neighbourhood in which the reſiſtance had originated, and within a mile of the dwelling houſe of M' Farlane, who had been killed, and there were probably a greater number of ſpectators than of delegates.

The delegates convened on an eminence under the ſhade of trees; colonel Cook was appointed chairman, and Albert Gallatin, ſecretary. It was ſoon diſcovered that there were a number of inflammatory perſons among the delegates, few of them however had talents. Bradford opened the meeting, with a ſtatement of the events that had taken place, and concluded with reading the letters that had been taken from the intercepted mail, with ſome inflammatory comments on them.

At this time the arrival of Commiſſioners from the Preſident, with powers for reſtoring order in the Weſtern Country, if a correſponding diſpoſition was met with among the people, was announced to the Meeting. After a ſhort pauſe colonel Marſhal roſe and expreſſed ſome ſatisfaction at the information of the arrival of Commiſſioners; but ſaid that they ſhould not on that account neglect the buſineſs of the meeting, and read ſome reſolutions that had been agreed on between Bradford and himſelf. The firſt reſolution, being againſt taking the citizens out of the vicinity

for trial occaſioned no conteſt; the ſecond and moſt important reſolution, runs in the following words:

"Reſolved that a ſtanding committee be appointed, to conſiſt of—members from each county, to be denominated a committee of public ſafety; whoſe duty it ſhall be to call forth the reſources of the weſtern country, to repel any hoſtile attempts that may be made againſt the citizens, or the body of the people."

This, compared with the ſubſequent reſolution, was prefacing the proceedings of the meeting by a direct queſtion, whether the weſtern counties would raiſe the ſtandard of rebellion or not. This was certainly a bold attempt to form a combination hoſtile to the government both of this ſtate and the United States. If ſuch a reſolution had been offered, before ſuch a number of perſons had become deſperate by being involved in the preceding riots, it would not have been heard with patience; but now it required both great addreſs and fortitude to parry it. Fortunately there was among the delegates a man well qualified for this purpoſe. His fortitude was no doubt the greater, as he knew he was in no danger at home for what he might ſay here. I mean Mr. Gallatin, the ſecretary. He roſe, and began by criticiſing on the word hoſtility; aſked what it meant, or from whence the hoſtilities were to come. He alleged if it was the exertions of government that were deſigned to be oppoſed, the term was improper; the exertions of government on the citizens in ſupport of the laws being coercion and not hoſtility. He encouraged them to expect no other means of coercion from government but through the judiciary, and after a number of ſenſible obſervations moved to

refer the reſolution to a ſelect Committee. But ſo great was the prevailing panic, that notwithſtanding the number of well-diſpoſed members that were in the meeting, he was not ſeconded; after ſome delay, however, Marſhal himſelf offered to withdraw the reſolution on condition, that a Committee of ſixty ſhould be appointed, with power to call a new meeting of the people or their deputies. This was inſtantly agreed to, and a new reſolution was ſtudiouſly modified, ſo as to enſure its adoption, and was agreed to by the meeting. In it a determination was expreſſed to ſupport the ſtate laws, and afford protection to the citizens; this was an important ſtep towards the reſtoration of order; for at that time no man thought himſelf ſafe in many places in telling his real ſentiments; Threats were not only circulated in anonymous letters, but were contained in the mottos on liberty poles; one was erected on the morning of the meeting and within view of it; it was erected under the direction of one of thoſe who ſigned the Braddock's field orders. The motto of it was; *Liberty and no exciſe, and no aſylum for cowards or traitors.* Every man was eſteemed a coward or traitor, by thoſe diſorganizers, who diſapproved of their meaſures.

Mr. Gallatin had the fortitude to object to the exception againſt the exciſe, originally contained in the reſolution for ſupport of the municipal laws, and procured it to be ſtruck out; but durſt not offer an affirmative reſolution in favour of ſubmitting to it. Indeed the doing ſo at this time would have been imprudent, nor would ſucceſs, in ſuch a reſolution, have been

of uſe, till ſubmiſſion to the municipal laws had been reſtored.

In ſhort the reſolutions, being five in number, were diſcuſſed, and referred to a committee conſiſting of Bradford, Brackenridge, Gallatin, and Herman Huſbands of Bedford, who new modelled them before the next day's meeting, at which they paſſed without much difficulty. The committee of ſixty or of one from each townſhip, was appointed to meet at Redſtone old fort, on the 2d of September, and a committee conſiſting of twelve members, three from each of the four counties, was appointed to conſer with the commiſſioners from the Preſident. Theſe, with one exception, were well choſen.

The commiſſioners came to a houſe near the meeting before it adjourned. This rendered the ſituation of the friends to order more delicate. It was urged by ſome that the meeting ſhould not be diſſolved till they would know and decide on the terms propoſed by the commiſſioners. With great addreſs, however, they were prevailed on to adjourn without day. Men of diſcernment knew that nothing would bring the people to a proper ſenſe of their duty, without time for reflection, and for the preſent agitated ſtate of mind to ſubſide. They knew alſo that if time could be procured to diſſeminate knowledge among the people every thing, that was neceſſary, would be gained. Therefore to reſtore quietneſs and gain time was the great object with Gallatin, and thoſe who thought as he did.

Brackenridge probably was actuated by the ſame motives as Gallatin; but ſupported the meaſures in a different manner. He often kept up the appearances,

and ſometimes uſed the boaſting language, which were acceptable to Bradford's party, and oppoſed Gallatin. Yet he always contributed to bring the proceedings to the ſame iſſue.

James Edgar, one of the aſſociate judges of Waſhington county, gave conſiderable aſſiſtance in prevailing on this meeting to adopt reaſonable preliminary meaſures; for ſuch meaſures as would lay a foundation for the complete reſtoratin of order were all that was expected or aimed at this meeting, and this was obtained. There were ſerious objections againſt keeping the people long together, and againſt holding the conference with the Commiſſioners at this place; nor was Redſtone old fort, appointed for the meeting of the committee of ſixty, well choſen, nor were the members, of which it was to be compoſed, well ſelected. They were choſen out of the Parkiſon meeting delegates, by their colleagues, before they left that place. Thoſe who were moſt fit in ſome inſtances excuſed themſelves from attending, and their places were ſupplied by raſh and inflammatory perſons who were willing to go. To this circumſtance I was attentive at the time, and obſerved it with ſenſible regret.

On the 20th of Auguſt, the conferees waited on the commiſſioners at Pittſburgh, according to a previous appointment. Thomas M'Kean, Chief Juſtice, and general William Irwin, commiſſioners in behalf of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, had alſo arrived at Pittſburgh. All the conferees, except Bradford, were ſeriouſly diſpoſed to ſubmit to the laws and the reſtoration of order. It was evident at the Parkiſon Ferry meeting, and on ſome other occaſions, that Marſhal wiſhed only for a

ſafe opportunity of abandoning the cauſe; and this opportunity was now offered. On the firſt conſultation held by the conferees, they all, except Bradford, agreed that the intereſt of the country, and their duty as citizens, rendered ſubmiſſion neceſſary and proper. Some perſons, who they expected had influence on Bradford, were employed to converſe with him on the ſubject, and againſt the next day he ſeemed perfectly reconciled to ſubmiſſion.

The Commiſſioners propoſed an amneſty for all offences committed before that date, and certain beneficial arrangements, for adjuſting delinquencies and proſecutions for penalties now depending, to be made, and communicated by the officers appointed to carry the ſaid acts into execution. Theſe arrangements were underſtood in converſation to apply to all arrears due for exciſe, and penalties for not entering their ſtills. The conferees were alſo invited to recommend ſuch officers as they would have confidence in for the execution of the exciſe law.

The conditions, on which theſe privileges were offered, were, that the general committee, to meet at Redſtone old fort, ſhould explicity declare their determination to ſubmit to the laws of the United States, and that they would not directly nor indirectly oppoſe the execution of the acts for raiſing a revenue on diſtilled ſpirits or ſtills, and that they would explicitly recommend a perfect and entire acquieſcence under the execution of ſaid acts. That they alſo would recommend that no violence, injuries or threats, ſhould be offered to the perſons or property of officers, or complying citizens.

The conferees, for themſelves, promiſed an entire aquieſcence, and to recommend the ſame to the committee at Redſtone; which they agreed to call four days ſooner than had been appointed.

The Commiſſioners on behalf of the State, propoſed an amneſty for all indictable offences againſt the laws of the State, on condition of their keeping the peace and complying with the terms propoſed by the United States. Theſe Commiſſioners, as well as the Commiſſioners of the United States, laboured much according to the opportunities afforded them, to bring the people to a proper ſenſe of their duty and intereſt, and to remove their difficulties, and correct their miſtakes.

While the Commiſſioners were at Pittſburgh, a very ſeditious libel was paſted up on the Market-houſe, and afterwards publiſhed in the gazette. It was wrote in the form of a dialogue, and inſulted the Commiſſioners, the militia of the lower counties, and particularly the militia of New-Jerſey, in a very irritating manner, and contained a number of the ſtrongeſt popular arguments againſt the execution of the Exciſe law, and boaſts of the intrepidity of thoſe who were oppoſed to it. It was wrote in a ſtyle and manner well ſuited to encourage and embolden the ignorant and obſtinate part of the people, which was the claſs that now gave moſt trouble. It might well paſs for a production of Tom the Tinker, and indeed it was believed to have flowed from that ſource; though on enquiry it turned out to be the production of one who had been always a friend to the Exciſe and the government, though he had not

been active in endeavouring to reſtore order; in this reſpect he was neutral.

Though the conferees had done every thing in their power to obtain the moſt favourable terms, and though the commiſſioners of the United States, and of the commonwealth, had granted every thing that was in the power of the federal and ſtate executive to grant, with very few exceptions even in the opinion of Bradford himſelf, yet many of thoſe who ſtood moſt in need of the offered amneſty became inflamed againſt the conferees, and circulated a report, that they had received bribes; this incredible ſtory gained ground particularly among the Germans, who, with a number of the moſt ignorant every where, but particularly adjacent to the Monongahela, thought that the conferees ſhould have agreed to nothing leſs than an unconditional repeal of the exciſe law. They did not comprehend the difference between the executive and legiſlative authority; nor was there time to inſtruct them.

The conferees, knowing the importance of time in the preſent ſtate of the country, were importunate with the commiſſioners to obtain it, but their own authority being limited to a ſhort day, it was not in their power to grant this requeſt, which was however of the laſt importance in giving effect to all they had granted.

CHAP. X.

ON the 28th of Auguſt, the committee of ſixty met at Redſtone old fort (Brownſville). While they were collecting, an armed party arrived from the upper parts of Waſhington county, who paraded the ſtreet with a drum beating. This party conſiſted of about ſixty or ſeventy infantry, well armed with rifles, and a few light horſemen mounted in uniform. This, and the reports of extreme inflammation among Tom Tinker's men, together with a letter under that ſignature, which it ſeems the editor of the gazette thought it even now imprudent to refuſe to publiſh; and in which the conferees are charged with being traitors, encouraging Tom's friends to perſevere, and containing ſevere denunciations againſt cowards and traitors; and the ſeditious and inſulting dialogue, which I have before mentioned, coming out about the ſame time, and then ſuppoſed to be from the ſame quarter, and the meeting being in the vicinity of an inflamed neigh-

bourhood, I ſay all theſe circumſtances conſpired to intimidate the delegates to a degree inconſiſtent with that calmneſs and reflection neceſſary for deliberation. This was ſo evident that ſome of thoſe, who had the quieting of the country much at heart, heſitated about the propriety of attempting to ſupport the report. Gallatin, however, was diſpoſed to try it, and others agreed with him in making the attempt.

It ſoon appeared that the declared object of the armed party was, to chaſtiſe Samuel Jackſon, a wealthy miller in the neighbourhood, for having called the committee *a ſcrub Congreſs*. He had uſed this expreſſion in jeſt at Pittſburgh, in company with the conferees, where it was conſidered as inoffenſive; but being carried abroad, and artfully miſrepreſented, occaſioned the march of the party in arms, who being highly agitated and heated with drink might have given another example of ſcandalous outrage, had not the committee interpoſed; by its influence a viſit to Jackſon's dwelling by the party, was prevented, and they were prevailed on to accept of an acknowledgement and a treat from him as a complete atonement for his offence. Thus this matter ended, but the party continued at Brownſville till night, and by their preſence and threats overawed the meeting.

When the committee proceeded to buſineſs, Bradford urged to take the vote immediately, expreſſing his ſurpriſe that any man ſhould heſitate or be unprepared to decide; from his manner, it was evident that, notwithſtanding his agreement to the terms of ſubmiſſion at Pittſburgh, and his promiſes to the commiſſioners and his colleagues, he was now determined on a ſum-

mary rejection of the report; and it was then generally believed that the armed party was brought there for the purpoſe of ſupporting him, and averawing the meeting. This indeed was afterwards found to be a miſtake, and that this party knew nothing of the meeting at Brownſville, until they were far advanced on their way to it; they lived in a part of the country where little information circulated, and though they were, perhaps as much inflamed againſt the exciſe law, and the officers as any others, yet they were not engaged in the attack on Nevil's houſe, nor any of the ſubſequent riots, but were excited to this undertaking by ſome of Jackſon's neighbours, who had a private difference with him. However their preſence and behaviour made the ſame impreſſion on the committee, as if they had come with the expreſs deſign to overaw them, and anſwered the ſame purpoſe to Bradford.

It required great addreſs in the committee to procure an adjournment of the queſtion till the next day. On this occaſion James Edgar, in an addreſs containing ironical compliments on Bradford's ſtrength of mind, which he probably took to be real, and arguments in favour of time for weak men like himſelf to make up their mind, delivered in a ſtyle well adapted to the hearers, and which could not give offence, contributed greatly to procure the adjournment.

Means were uſed to prevail on the armed party to retire that night, and the next day the gallery of ſpectators was much thinned, but reports were circulated that Bradford who lodged on the Waſhington ſide of the river that night, had bound himſelf ſaintly with a number of others to ſupport the oppoſition by force of

arms, until government would be brought to agree unequivocally to their own terms; it appeared by what followed that the idea of a complete revolution was now taken up by Bradford, and it was certain that ſeveral of the moſt obſtinate of thoſe who originated the preſent violent meaſures were among the ſpectators, and perhaps ſome of them members of the committee; but Marſhal and others of the moſt reſpectable men among them had totally withdrawn from their intereſt.

The committee was opened next morning by a long, ſenſible and eloquent ſpeech by Mr. Gallatin; he alone would venture to open the buſineſs in this direct manner. In this ſpeech, no motive to ſubmiſſion was left unexplained, nor any objection left unanſwered; he was ſupported by Mr. Brakenridge, who having no new ground of argument left unexplained, enforced and enlarged on the arguments already offered and addreſſed their conſciences and their fears. His argument was of the more importance that it was deciſive; formerly he had temporized in ſuch a manner as to induce the rioters to believe he was a friend to their cauſe.

But like the ſpirit which at unlucky occaſions actuated the Iſraelitiſh king, the frenzy which actuated Bradford during the whole of this period, at this unlucky moment impelled him to riſe and addreſs the committee in a moſt extravagant harangue, in the courſe of which he urged the propriety of erecting an independent government, and alleged that the Federal government had only tempered with Spain and Britain about the Miſſiſſippi and the weſtern poſts, and trifled with the Indians. Let us be independent,

ſaid he, and we will accompliſh theſe objects in a few months. For a ſource of ſupplies he propoſed killing the firſt army that came againſt us, and ſupplying ourſelves with arms and ammunition as the French had done. This harangue did not contain ſufficient good ſenſe to be reliſhed, even by many of his admirers, though it excited their inflammation, and ſtill more intimidated the Committee, who from the ſuppoſed combination formed over night were, many of them, afraid that this inflamatory diſcourſe was the ſignal of actual violence. They were however miſtaken. If this was the moſt abſurd and inconſiſtent exertion Mr. Bradford made, it was his laſt in that way. He left the meeting when he ſaw the vote went againſt him, and afterwards ſigned the terms of ſubmiſſion, and adviſed others to ſign them; but reflecting that it would not cover the offence he had committed at this meeting, he left the country before the army came up.

The arguments were concluded by Mr. Edgar; ſome part of his ſpeech ſtruck my attention ſo much, and I recollect it ſo well, that I will trouble the reader with a ſhort extract of it.

He ſtated, that he had been a member of the convention which ratified the federal conſtitution, and had in it objected to the unqualified power of levying exciſes, but that they had ſubmitted to it, many of them had advocated it in all its parts: Their officers, legiſlative, executive and judicial had ſworn to ſupport it, and they had all voted for members of Congreſs and applied to the government for protection under it, which was a ſolemn acknowledgement of their allegiance to it, with all the powers with which it was

veſted. That what they might think a premature and inexpedient exerciſe of the power of levying exciſes, could never juſtify them in renouncing allegiance to the government, and would equally juſtify a reſiſtance to every law, becauſe every general law occaſioned complaint from ſome on whom it preſſed hard.

He gave an affecting deſcription of the diſtreſſing ſituation into which they had inconſiderately brought themſelves, and ſtated the ſympathy with which they had been treated by their friends, who when they had nothing to fear on their own account had yet put themſelves in ſuſpicious ſituations, and made in ſome reſpects a common cauſe with them, with no other view than the more effectually to diſpoſe government to grant an oblivion for their paſt offences, on condition of their future ſubmiſſion to the laws, and which could not be granted on any other condition ; that now that object being as liberally offered as they had any reaſon to expect, if it was obſtinately refuſed, they would not only have themſelves to blame for the hardſhips they would bring on themſelves, their families and country, but for ingratitude to their friends, who had laboured with ſo much zeal to extricate them from their difficulties. With ſuch expoſtulations, and a number of cogent reaſons and advices, he concluded a pretty long ſpeech. The reſpectability of his character for true piety, good morals, and eaſy manners, as well as the good practical ſenſe expreſſed in his diſcourſe in a ſimple and affectionate manner, drew the attention of all deſcriptions of the audience. His gray hairs which gave him the appearance of being older than he really was had alſo ſome effect.

I had never heard ſpeeches that I more ardently deſired to ſee in print than thoſe delivered on this occaſion. They would not only be valuable on account of the oratory and information diſplayed in all the three, and eſpecially in Gallatin's, who opened the way, but they would alſo have been the beſt hiſtory of the ſpirit, and the miſtakes, which then actuated men's minds. But copies of them could not be procured. They were delivered without any previous preparation other than a complete knowledge of the actual ſtate of things, and of human nature when in ſimilar circumſtances. This knowledge, and the importance of the occaſion on which it was exhibited, produced ſuch ingenuity of reaſoning and energy of expreſſion, as never perhaps, had been exhibited by the ſame orators before. But after all that could be done by reaſoning, it was a matter of great difficulty to get a vote taken. When the vote was taken, the meeting were not unanimous, there were 34 Yeas and 23 Nays; ſix men it is aſſerted ſaid afterwards that they had given in the Nay ticket inſtead of the Yea, by miſtake; the certainty of this cannot be known, though if it had not happened they need not have told it, for no one knew how another voted. The vote was on the following reſolution. *That in the opinion of this committee, it is the intereſt of the people of this country to accede to the propoſals made by the commiſſioners of the United States:* The majority through fear refuſed to put the queſtion on the laſt propoſition, though it was on agreeing to it that the eventual ſucceſs of the meeting depended. Their fears were certainly greater than their danger, for though ſeveral members ſpoke deciſively in favour of

ſubmiſſion, no inſult was offered to them. Their panic was not only inſpired by the place and circumſtances, but many of them were afraid of miſchief at home. The Tom Tinker's letter recently publiſhed had concluded with ſevere threats, againſt thoſe who would comply. Indeed threats of burning houſes, tarring and feathering &c. were now made by a deſcription of people, whoſe voice is not heard in ſociety in ſettled times. I have ſaid before that ſeveral of the committee-men were not well ſelected, ſome of them I knew to be of the moſt inflammatory characters.

CHAP. XI.

IT was plainly perceived that longer time was neceſſary; a new committee of 12 conferees was appointed to procure it, if poſſible. The conferees who had been with the commiſſioners before, though they knew that time alone was neceſſary to bring the people to a ſenſe of their intereſt and duty, before the terms were finally ſubmitted to them, believed it could not be obtained, and as there had been imputations againſt them, they declined the appointment, and 12 new conferees were appointed, of whom only 8 waited on the commiſſioners at Pittſburgh, who had it not in their power to grant longer time as their own authority was to expire in a few days.

On the terms propoſed by the commiſſioners not being decided on by the committee of 60, they withdrew them, and ſubſtituted new ones to be ſubſcribed by the people individually in their town meetings, or election diſtricts; this mode of taking

the ſenſe of the people had been recommended by the committee of 60, and ſome of the new conferees appointed the method of taking the ſenſe of the people in diſtricts, and others in townſhips for their reſpective counties.

The teſt to be ſubſcribed was in the following words: "I do ſolemnly promiſe henceforth to ſubmit to the laws of the United States; and that I will not directly or indirectly oppoſe the execution of the act for raiſing a revenue on diſtilled ſpirits and ſtills, and that I will ſupport as far as the law requires the civil authority in affording the protection due to all officers and other citizens."

Theſe terms were agreed to on the 2d September, but it was the 4th before they were got printed ready for the conferees to leave Pittſburgh; conſequently there was but ſix days to ſpread the neceſſary information through a country, containing 70,000 inhabitants, (excluſive of the extenſive county of Bedford, for which the teſt was alſo intended,) ſpread over a territory not much leſs extenſive than the ſtate of Connecticut, which ſends ſeven members to Congreſs, and interſperſed with mountains and large bodies of unſeated lands. Four of the conferees not attending left ſome large diſtricts wholely without the means of information. but though exertions were made to circulate the neceſſary information, yet there was no opportunity of impreſſing on the cautious citizens, who had from an exceſs of prudence declined attending all the former meetings, the neceſſity of attending this one, and the people generally had no opportunity of peruſing the teſt they were required to ſubſcribe, until the

hour they met on the ground to ſign their names; nor then had they had time, or opportunity for deliberately making up their minds.

The word *ſolemnly* was conſidered as an oath, and from henceforth, as an acknowledgement of having offended heretofore, which with much the greater number of the inhabitants in general, and many diſtricts with reſpect to the whole inhabitants, was not true. The commiſſioners indeed agreed that thoſe objectionable words ſhould be ſtricken out, and publiſhed it in the gazette; but the gazette did not, nor could not arrive in moſt places till after the day of ſigning. In ſome places however the people ſuppreſſed theſe words themſelves. The word indirectly was underſtood by many as calculated to bind them from even petitioning againſt the exciſe law for the future, and the ſhort ſpace of an hour or two at a confuſed meeting did not afford leiſure nor compoſure for thoſe who were capable, and ſo diſpoſed, to inform and adviſe the people. It is well known that a legiſlative body compoſed of the wiſeſt citizens will not paſs a law for the leaſt important purpoſe, without various readings on ſeveral different days; it could not be expected that an uninformed maſs of people could make up their mind to ſubſcribe what amounted to a new teſt of allegiance, with ſo little time or compoſure for deliberation: The difficulty was much encreaſed by the number and ſmallneſs of the diſtricts in which they were covened; this gave an opportunity, for ſuch as ſeldom attended elections, and whoſe voice was never heard on other public occaſions, who had not horſes to ride nor cloaths to put on, to attend the meetings, overaw them,

and inſult the very perſons, by whoſe ſympathy their families had been preſerved from famine. This took place in ſome townſhips and ſmall diſtricts, where no exceſſes had formerly been committed. By this deſcription I do not mean to implicate the induſtrious poor. There were no people behaved better than moſt of thoſe. I have obſerved ſtriking inſtances of the virtue and uſefulneſs of this claſs of men; their advice was often attended to, when men who were on ordinary occaſions influential, would not be heard. It is known, that to all new ſettlements there is a conſtant ingreſs of the moſt indolent people, who are not only ſlothful, but ignorant and obſtinate, and who having nothing to loſe and little expectation of bettering their condition by induſtry, delight in promoting confuſion. This deſcription of people was become bold and dangerous at this period, and the non-attendance of a great proportion of thoſe who having given no offence were determined to *ſign* no teſt, gave the greater opportunity in ſome places for diſorderly perſons to domineer; they did ſo in ſome places to ſuch a degree as to prevent in a great meaſure the deſign of the meeting from being obtained. Though they did not exceed a fourth or a fifth of the number preſent, yet deſperation and threats of burning ſupplied the place of numbers, and it was not thought prudent on that day to put the law in execution, as the country diſtricts did not know the ſituation the county towns were in, or whether taking perſons to priſon might not lead to further riots.

In the reſult, however, out of above forty different places of meeting for the purpoſe of ſubſcribing the aſſurances, at only two of them were the papers torn by

a desperate banditti. One of these was at the place where the people who needed an amnesty were numerous, the other was that in which I reside, where very few had been guilty of any excesses. At one place in Allegany county the signing was prevented by violence or terror, where it was the interest of many to have subscribed; at a few other such places, the subscribing was done with difficulty. Nevertheless those who had been deeply engaged in the excesses generally signed, except a few of the most ignorant and obstinate; there were some indeed who had dared to engage in the greatest outrages, who had not courage to subscribe for their own safety, lest they would be considered as deserters.

In some of the townships next to the frontiers, even the people who attended the meetings absolutely refused to sign, because there were none among them who had given offence, or at any time opposed the execution of the excise law. They took it amiss that they were called upon; and some districts in the upper parts of Washington were not warned. Indeed the people generally, who had been much distressed all round the extensive frontier, had no hand in originating, or carrying on the disturbances, nor did they appear at all in it, till they were solicited to send delegates to Parkison's ferry to promote the restoration of order, and as far as I could observe or be informed, they uniformly contributed to that desirable object in every instance, till the subscribing was called for, and then they said, *let them sign in the places where they are involved.* Some, however, were persuaded to do it from policy. They had not only behaved well themselves, but from some places offered

their ſervices, particularly to general Wilkin to quell the inſurgents.

The whole county of Fayette acted on the ſame principle. They had ſubmitted to the authority of the marſhal, and regularly entered for their appearance to the action, and knew that there were few if any criminals among them; they therefore refuſed to ſign to the terms of the commiſſioners; but in order to ſatisfy government with reſpect to their intention, they formed reſolutions of their own, and at a meeting of delegates from the ſeveral townſhips, unanimouſly agreed to ſubmit to the laws of the United States and of this ſtate, and not to oppoſe directly or indirectly the acts for raiſing a revenue on diſtilled ſpirits, ſtills, &c. agreeably to the terms propoſed by the commiſſioners to the committee of ſixty. They alſo called on the people to meet in election diſtricts, to declare their ſubmiſſion to the laws. Comparatively few attended, eſpecially in the places furthermoſt removed from the diſturbances, and where leaſt heat or agitation had prevailed; of thoſe who did attend, 580 voted for ſubmiſſion, and 280 againſt it. Yet notwithſtanding the refuſal to ſign the terms preſcribed by the whole county of Fayette, and by ſeveral townſhips in the north of Weſtmoreland, there was only one priſoner brought from Fayette, and none from the other, when the judge and the army went into the country; the perſon brought from Fayette was found to be innocent; he had been in Kentucky when the riots were committed in the weſtern country.

The commiſſioners returned to Philadelphia before the day of ſigning, except Mr. Roſs, who ſtayed to

receive the lists of subscribers, and to observe the temper that would be discovered on that occasion. He also was obliged to go to Philadelphia before all the returns were come to hand. The tumults that took place on the day of signing, and the heat and agitation which discovered itself in a few places, particularly among the uninformed part of the Germans, for a few days after it, induced several of the judges and other persons of information to agree in opinion with Mr. Ross, that it would be necessary to have an army sent into the country; but this opinion was also made up without time for information, and consequently was soon changed. It was but a few days, in some places the very next day, after signing, that many of those who had been most riotous on the day of signing, came, some of them in tears, begging permission to sign: in some places their signing was received, with certification, that it would not be admitted as a claim for amnesty, in other places they were refused the privilege altogether. When they reflected, they saw that they were deserted by those on whom they had depended, and who, perhaps, had advised them, or by their example encouraged them to mischief.

From a view of the subject it is evident, that if but one week had been allowed for the people to deliberate on the assurances they were required to sign, the submission to the laws would have been complete, at least there would have been so few exceptions, that they would have given no alarm; there were none within my knowledge but what would have signed in half that time. Signing associations, binding the citizens to assist one another in support of the laws, had been promoted

at Pittſburgh by general Wilkin and others, and generally ſigned; this example was generally and ſucceſsfully imitated; ſuch an aſſociation was entered into in the townſhip in which I reſide, the third day after the ſigning, and in many other places equally ſoon.

The commiſſioners, however, are not to blame for not giving longer time; their own powers expired with the time given to the people; they were nearly expired before it was determined to ſubmit it to the people, in that manner, and it was the influence of terror on the committee of 60 at Brownſville, occaſioned by the wickedneſs of a few, perhaps, of one man, which rendered ſubmitting it to the people neceſſary. The reaſons, that determined the Preſident to limit the authority of the commiſſioners to ſo ſhort a period, will be given in their proper place.

Though it may be admitted that there was a latent prediſpoſition to violence among a few individuals, who had been formerly attached to the inſpector, and encouraged by him to oppoſe exciſe officers, under the ſtate, and though this was known to himſelf, and he was prepared for defence, yet no ſuch thing was generally known in the country, and its breaking out at the time was owing to accident, and circumſtances of a local nature. Inconſiderate and uſeleſs reſiſtance by ſhedding blood too abundantly, which the inſpector was the more ſucceſsful in doing, by being prepared in a manner of which the aſſailants were not aware, excited a more formidable attack, and drew many into the vortex of riot, who would have been far from engaging in it, if they had had time to deliberate on the conſe-

quences. Numbers thus inconſiderately involved in crimes became deſperate, and endeavoured by drawing others into the ſame ſituation to make it a common cauſe, and being unfortunately aided in theſe miſtaken views by Bradford, Marſhal, and others, who attempted to give a more violent complexion and greater magnitude to the miſchief, by drawing the whole weſtern country into a combination againſt the exciſe law, and for this purpoſe contriving the rendezvous at Braddock's field, and uſing every means to inflame the minds of the citizens, and to overawe with terror thoſe who might oppoſe their deſigns, and for this purpoſe magnifying the numbers at Braddock's field, and advertiſing that thouſands had been on their march to join them, from places where there was not a perſon who knew of the rendezvous. I ſay, by theſe mad exertions, the inſurrection progreſſed for a few days like the paroxiſm of an inflammatory fever, ſpent its force in frequent irregular convulſions, and finally ſubſided almoſt as ſuddenly, and to many as unexpectedly as it commenced; the moſt alarming ſymptoms were diſcovered at Braddock's field, and the laſt ſtruggle was a feeble attempt to raiſe a party a few miles ſouth of Greenſburgh.

The courts had not been interrupted in their progreſs, on the Monday previous to the day appointed for ſigning the aſſurances to government, the court at Greenſburgh was opened by a ſenſible ſpeech, well adapted to the occaſion, by preſident Addiſon, and he was not inſulted nor the buſineſs of the court interrupted, and he went through the circuit without meeting with any embarraſſment. As the ocean which is agitated for ſome time after the ſtorm has ſpent its force,

ſo was the agitation that appeared among the people after the day of ſigning; but they afterwards became calm as formerly, except as to the anxiety that aroſe from apprehenſions of what was to follow, and reflections on the paſt.

The agitation having ſo perfectly ſubſided, an advertiſement was put in the gazette, calling on the Parkiſon's ferry delegates to hold another meeting on the 2d of October. The meeting was advertiſed by ſome of the ſame perſons who had but about a week before given their opinion that an army would be neceſſary; but ſo ſudden and perfect was the preſent calm, that they were convinced that ſuch aſſurances of ſubmiſſion could now be procured, as would render the march of the army totally unneceſſary.

The delegates met, and agreed to the following reſolutions: "Reſolved unanimouſly that it is the opinion of this meeting that if the ſignature of the ſubmiſſion be not univerſal it is not ſo much owing to any exiſting diſpoſition to oppoſe the laws, as to a want of time and information to operate a correſpondent ſentiment; and with reſpect to the greateſt number, a prevailing conſciouſneſs of their having had no concern in any outrage, and an idea that their ſignature would imply a ſenſe of guilt."

By another reſolve they gave aſſurances of ſubmiſſion in the very words preſcribed by the commiſſioners; and by a third they reſolved to ſend David Redick and myſelf, with theſe aſſurances, to the Preſident of the United States, with authority in behalf of the meeting, to explain to him the more circumſtantially the ſtate of the country, in order to enable him to judge whether

an armed force would now be neceſſary to ſupport the civil authority in thoſe counties.

I had not attended this meeting, but the reſolves were tranſmitted to me, and a letter from preſident Addiſon, aſſuring me that he had converſed with diſtillers and others, reſiding in the parts of the county where the oppoſition originated, and that they had given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their ſubmiſſion. I had otherwiſe ſufficient proofs that the laws could be ſupported in every other part of the weſtern counties.

CHAP. XII.

ON the road to Carliſle we heard alarming accounts of the army, rendezvoused at that place, being very ungovernable and exceedingly inflamed againſt the people of the weſtern country indiſcriminately. We ſtill flattered ourſelves that theſe reports were not well founded, till we met with ſome officers of the weſtern army on their way to Pittſburgh with recruits, who confirmed the reports we had heard from others. We lodged at a tavern three miles from Carliſle, and paſſed for travellers going to Philadelphia, which we intended doing if we ſhould not meet the Preſident at Carliſle; but when the people of the houſe diſcovered that we were from the weſtern counties, they were much alarmed, and preſſed us exceedingly to abandon the thought of going through Carliſle, offering at the ſame time to conduct us by another rout. They deſcribed the rage of the army againſt all the people from the weſtern counties, in terms which they thought ſufficient to

deter us from approaching it; and in giving a relation of the licentiouſneſs and ferocity of the troops, told us of their having already killed two men in cold blood.

We had no ſooner diſmounted at the tavern in Carliſle, than I was aſked to walk aſide by a gentleman who was waiting to ſee me. The Carliſle paper had mentioned our coming; conſequently we were expected. He informed me of the inflammation prevailing in the army being apparently too ſtrong to be reſtrained, and of their threats againſt us, and adviſed that we ſhould be cautious how we expoſed ourſelves; that the reſentment againſt us was particularly exaſperated from an apprehenſion that it was our errand, to give ſuch aſſurances to the Preſident, as were intended to prevent their march to the Monongahela. He aſſured me that his object was purely to prevent injury to us, and diſhonour to the army, and requeſted me to pay attention to his advice. He had been a reſpectable officer during the late war, but not attached to the preſent army, nor a dweller in or near that place. I have not had an opportunity ſince that time of acknowledging his well timed and humane caution. Though I did not credit the extent of his impreſſions at the time, I was ſoon convinced they were not exaggerated. We obſerved the proofs of it in the behaviour of ſeveral individuals, and were confirmed by the information of others, in and out of the army.

Having early in the morning waited on the Preſident to deliver the papers, and obtained on appointment for an interview, we withdrew in a ſhort time. This was to have been expected; it was about ſeven o'clock; but before ten the report was current through both the town and the army, that the Preſident had dri-

ven us out in ſix minutes, and was not to ſee us again; and notwithſtanding the Preſident's eſtabliſhed character for diſcretion and politeneſs, and the frequent interviews to which we were admitted, this ridiculous ſtory was believed by many in the army during the whole expedition, and has been reported ſince, through diſtant parts of the United States. Long after the return of the army, I was told it by one of the generals who commanded in the expedition, and who was ſurpriſed to hear that it was not true.

Though we were cautious of mixing with the army at large, we took every opportunity of converſing with the officers from different places, in order to have an opportunity of removing the miſtaken impreſſions, and correcting the falſe information, they had received, and to know more perfectly the general character of the army. In one inſtance obſerving a regiment newly arrived from Philadelphia; as ſoon as the men were diſmiſſed from parade, we mixed with ſuch of the officers as we were acquainted with, and dined in company with the Colonel.

When we informed him of the ſucceſsful exertions that had been made to reſtore ſubmiſſion to the laws; and mentioned one individual, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf with induſtry and addreſs, he anſwered us that that very man, if he was met with, would be ſkewered, ſhot, or hanged on the firſt tree. I had before been informed of two liſts put into the hands of ſome in the army, containing the names of certain perſons, who were to be ſo treated when met with, and that the very perſon alluded to by the Colonel was in both of them. I underſtood I had the honour to fill a place in one myſelf. The colonel treated us decently, but his ex-

preſſions confirmed my belief of a fact, the truth of which I had till now willingly doubted.

But the deſigns of aſſaſſination were not againſt us excluſively. Thoſe among themſelves who had reaſoned in favour of the ſubjection of the military to the civil law, or ſuggeſted that thoſe who killed a citizen in cool blood ſhould anſwer to the proper courts, and that the army were only employed to aid the Judiciary in the exerciſe of its proper functions, and not to uſurp or exerciſe thoſe functions themſelves, were in as much danger, and equally the objects of threats, as the whiſky men, and in fact were called ſo.

Two men had been killed, one on the great road near Lebanon, and the other at a houſe in the neighbourhood of Carliſle. The one on the road was killed by the Jerſey troops. He provoked an officer by fooliſh and inſulting language, and on laying hold on one of the bayonets of the guard, who were ordered to arreſt him, he was run through the body. He was evidently drunk or deranged. Surely ſo many men in arms could eaſily have ſecured one unarmed fool, without killing him. The other was killed by a light horſeman from Philadelphia, who went into the country to ſeize ſome perſons who had aſiſted at erecting liberty poles in Carliſle. The young man, who was killed, was not only innocent, but very unwell. The party left him under guard of one of their number, until they would ſearch the barn for others. The ſick boy declaring his innocence, and that he was not able to ſtand, attempted to go into the houſe without leave; the light horſeman ordered him to ſtop, on the peril of being ſhot, and if he could not ſtand to ſit or lay

down, and in the mean time cocked his piſtol. When the boy was in the poſture of laying himſelf down, and the light horſeman about to uncock his piſtol, it went off and ſhot the boy mortally. I ſtate this caſe, as I had it from the beſt authority, and as taken from an examination of the light horſeman.

But admitting, as I believe we ought, that thoſe acts of man-killing were not murder, yet they ought not to have been done, becauſe they might eaſily have been prevented; after the Preſident had convinced the army, by his diſcourſes, of the propriety, and enforced by his authority the neceſſity of the ſubordination of the military to the civil power, and after he had given an unequivocal teſtimony of his ſincerity by obliging thoſe who killed the two men, to enter recogniſance with bail, for ſtanding their trial at court, no more accidents of the kind happened.

The authority and influence of the Preſident had lowered the tone, though not changed the temper of the outrageous part of the army, while we were at Carliſle. The proper attention he paid to us, on account of the errand we came on, and the reſtraint his orders impoſed on their deſigns, gave great mortification to that part of them that continued longeſt in Carliſle; the laſt interview to which we were admitted was on the evening previous to the Preſident's ſitting out for Patowmack. While the converſation continued, a general officer, with others, walked before the window, and railed againſt the Preſident for converſing with us; ſaying, that he never would recover the popularity that he loſt by countenancing inſurgents. Owing however to that ſalutary reſtraint, thus impoſed on them

by the Preſident, all the fire was ſpent in threatening what they would do; laying their hands on their ſwords, which many of them had not been accuſtomed to wear, they would ſwear there was no need of judges and juries, let them only ſee the men and they would ſkewer them.

I was the leſs ſurpriſed at this diſplay of the inflammatory agitation of the human mind, that I had ſo recently been acquainted with its ebullitions, in a variety of efforts in the courſe of its fermentation and ſettling on its lees in the weſtern country. I had heard the word of terror pronounced in ſuch loud accents, as that like a magic ſpell it chilled the blood and petrified the ſpirits, almoſt as far as the report of it vibrated with the air that wafted the alarming ſound. I had obſerved in the rapid reign of indiſcretion, plans executed almoſt as ſoon as an infatuated imagination conceived them and ſome thouſands of thoughtleſs, of outrageous, and of well diſpoſed citizens rendezvouſed together in one hetrogeneous maſs, and tens of thouſands put on paper as on their way to rendezvous, (who by the by had not heard of the plan) and all for no viſible object, nor to anſwer any purpoſe, but expoſe the madneſs of thoſe who conducted the career of folly. I had ſeen the effervescence in human ſociety operate ſo powerfully as to throw the ſcum to the ſurface, and cauſe the purer parts to ſuccumb for a moment, ſo far as to fix a general character of impurity. While things were in this ſtate, I have heard men talk as if they were all Samſons, who each could kill his thouſands with the jaw bone of an aſs. I had known myſelf and many others threatened with having our property burned, ourſelves tarred, feathered, &c. but ſaw none of theſe

dreadful threats executed. After the poor exciſemen were overſet, there was no perſon otherwiſe hurt, than by the effects of temporary terror on the mind. I knew of a black liſt too, containing a certain number of the beſt citizens to be hanged or ſhot, who are all yet living. I clearly ſaw that the very ſame ſpirit was operating in the army, that had thus convulſed the weſtern country, and hoped that it would alſo evaporate in air, eſpecially as it would be held under reſtraint by the authority and influence of diſcreet and experienced officers. I had no doubt but that there was a majority of well diſpoſed people in the army, who wiſhed to ſupport the laws, as well as there had been in the weſtern country, though by the bluſtering noiſe and high handed meaſures of the rioters, people at a diſtance were induced to believe that all the inhabitants were inſurgents. By mixing with the people myſelf, I found this was not the caſe, even where the outrages originated. In like manner, by taking every prudent opportunity of mixing with the army, I was convinced that many were diſpoſed to ſubmit to diſcipline and ſupport the laws; but theſe were not the men who made the noiſe. The cauſe however was very different; the cauſe of the army was laudable, and their turning out meritorious; the cauſe of the inſurgents on the other hand was criminal. However when I reflected on the vaſt maſs of undiſciplined men, who were collected and ſo well equipped, aſſuming the height of military airs, without the habits of military diſcipline, having no apprehenſions of danger to preſs them together, no enemy to encounter, nor in fact any object to afford them an opportunity of diſplaying

their proweſs; I ſay, when I reflected on theſe circumſtances, together with the inflammatory ſymptoms which were ſo prevalent, and might ſoon pervade the whole maſs; it gave me unpleaſant ſenſations. I was not without apprehenſions that ſuch convulſions might be the reſult, as would not only be ruinous to the weſtern counties, but proſtrate the very government and laws, which they were called forth to ſupport. I knew they had ſhed blood, in a manner that diſcovered that they were not very ſolicitous to avoid it. I knew that ſome of no mean rank were mortified that thoſe who had ſhed blood were obliged to enter recogniſance, and give bail. It is well known that at Carliſle the army was once in that ſituation, that one part of it was ordered to charge the others, and if a diſcretion, which by ſtrict rules might have been eſteemed criminal, had not been exerciſed by the officer who was ordered to make the charge, brothers blood might have been ſhed in abundance. It is well remembered that the ſtreets and avenues of Caliſle were occupied by the army, during the night, and that an apprehenſion of the town being burnt excited a general panic. To what height theſe alarming heats might have gone, if the Preſident had not arrived ſo ſeaſonably, it is impoſſible to tell. Though there were officers poſſeſſed of virtue and experience there before he arrived, yet their authority was not ſufficient to preſerve order. Indeed while the army continued at Carliſle, drinking was carried to greater exceſs, than I had heard of it being done among the inſurgents, and wine will inflame the paſſions as much or more than even whiſky.

However it is a queſtion that never will be decided, whether the authority and influence of a Preſident would have been effectual if that Preſident had not been general Waſhington. The man, that had commanded our armies ſucceſsfully through the late war, and whoſe military character was ſo reſpectable, had an influence over military men, that few others could expect to poſſeſs.

There was not ſo much of the inflammatory ſpirit obſervable in the left wing of the army as in the other, nor was there any perſons killed by them, by accident or otherwiſe. In one or two inſtances, where there was danger of ſome fooliſh men who mixed with that wing being ſkewered, general Morgan, by pretending to reſerve them for ignominious puniſhment, ſaved them, till they could be ſafely diſmiſſed, or kept his men from killing them by threatening to kill them himſelf. He kept his diviſion on the parade while on their march, until he called on the people reſiding near the encampment, and paid them immediately a reaſonable price for what the army had taken or deſtroyed; conſequently there were few complaints made by the citizens of marauding or deſtruction committed by that wing. General Smith, who commanded the Maryland brigade, complied ſtrictly with the Preſident's orders in diſcharging ſuch of the men as were diſorderly. At fort Cumberland he called on the Captains to make report of characters of that deſcription, of which he diſcharged about 50 in one day; this not only purged the army, but was a caution to thoſe that remained; the conſequence was that the route on which he marched cannot be traced by the ſufferings and complaints of

the citizens; nor was there so high a degree of inflammation among the Maryland troops as appeared in the rest of the army; even among the troops from Virginia the tone was not so high, nor the spirit so ungovernable, as in the right wing; however, more frequent examples of punishment were made among them.

Notwithstanding the inflammatory and ungovernable spirit that prevailed in the army, it was restrained from actual outrage; but doing this required great address. If a severe example had not been made of two men in the camp at Carnaghan's in Westmoreland, for disobedience and mutiny, it is the opinion of the most experienced officers who were there, that the country would have been ruined; and there were such serious apprehensions of their punishment occasioning a general mutiny, that it was a matter of great hesitation with the commander in chief of that wing, and other officers, whether the sentence could be executed without a general mutiny. Through the decision, however, of general Irwin, to whose personal intrepidity it was owing that the culprits were brought to trial, and through the confidence that was entertained in general Chambers's brigade, the sentence was executed without disturbance. By way of precaution, general Chambers had his brigade paraded in such a manner as to be ready to charge the regiment to whom the culprits belonged, and in front of which the sentence was executed, if a mutiny had been attempted. This instance of discipline is believed to have had an excellent effect in preventing a total subversion of discipline, and restraining the disposition of marauding, which at that time threatened to involve the country in great distress. It

will appear hereafter that an apprehenſion of a mutinous diſpoſition prevailing in the army, had a diſagreeable effect on the proceedings of the judiciary.

General Chambers had made ſome examples of diſcipline, before his brigade left the ſettlements, where it was raiſed. This was no doubt one reaſon why it ſet ſuch an example of good behaviour and ſuſtained the character of being the moſt orderly brigade in the right wing of the army. To this I heard the commander in chief of that wing, ſecretary Hamilton, and many other officers bear ample teſtimony; but there was another reaſon of greater weight, which influenced that character.

The ſeſſion of aſſembly, which was convened during the inſurrection, obſerving a reluctance in the militia to turn out in their claſſes, and conſidering that there was a great number of citizens in the lower counties who had religious ſcruples againſt bearing arms, gave a bounty to encourage the enliſtment of volunteers, and many of the citizens whoſe duty it was to go procured ſubſtitutes. The militia corps from Philadelphia, and the counties near it, were chiefly compoſed of ſuch of this deſcription; there was a ſmaller proportion in general Chambers's brigade than in the others, and of conſequence a greater proportion of ſuch citizens as turned out in their proper claſſes; and it is among thoſe that we may always expect to find the greateſt reſpect paid to the laws. With orderly citizens, moral principles and a ſenſe of honour will go far in ſupplying the want of diſcipline.

There was another deſcription of volunteers, both from New-Jerſey and Pennſylvania, who neither came

from the inducement of a bounty nor the expectation of plunder, but purely with a view to ſupport the government and law. Many of theſe were men of large property, and extenſively engaged in buſineſs. They came at much expence and made great ſacrifices, many of them being unuſed to perſonal hardſhips ſtood the unavoidable fatigue of ſuch a journey beyond expectation and without murmuring. Indeed I was agreeably ſurpriſed to ſee them arrive at Bonnet's camp in ſuch good health and ſpirits, after ſo much fatigue. It had rained on them almoſt every day, from the time they left Bedford till they arrived at that place, and though they were every way the beſt equipped and ſupplied of any troops that ever had marched in the ſervice of the United States, yet the exceſſive rains and exceeding badneſs of the roads rendered the march very fatiguing and uncomfortable, eſpecially as a proportion of the road was on mountains naturally ſwampy. I do not ſay that none of them murmured, for ſome of them filled the news-papers with complaints and ſarcaſms on the whiſky-men. By reading ſome of thoſe letters, that were publiſhed, it would have been thought the county of Bedford was full of the moſt daring criminals, and the army haraſſed to death, purſuing them over roads, that endangered the life of man to paſs, &c. whereas there were only four priſoners taken or ſought after in that county, two of whom reſided within a few miles of Bedford town, the other two were from the Glades, 30 miles diſtant from Bedford, and no reſiſtance was attempted by them. In ſome of theſe letters, the difficulties they encountered are magnified to a very high degree. "In ſhort no expedition during the laſt

war, nor even that of Hannibal over the Alps, could equal the inſuperable hardſhips which we ſuffered,' is the language of one of them. But theſe fooliſh exaggerations ought no more to fix the character of theſe corps, than the conduct of a few deſperate inſurgents ought to fix the character of all the inhabitants of the four weſtern counties.

It muſt be expected, that a proportion of thoſe who went out as volunteers, in what were called the gentleman corps, were men of the moſt ardent ſpirits, who perhaps miſtook the warmth of their paſſions for patriotiſm; for, it is not uncommon in either religion or politics to find mankind miſtake the agitation and biaſs of their own paſſions for zeal or patriotiſm, and in the caſe before us there might have been incidental prejudices ariſing from other cauſes; but notwithſtanding the inflammatory materials of which theſe corps were in part compoſed, I have authority for ſaying, that they not only ſubmitted to fatigue with the perſeverance of veterans, but moſt of them acted with a becoming ſubordination to orders; among theſe, however, more than any other corps, did the bluſtering threats prevail, which ſpread ſuch a general alarm.

CHAP. XIII.

ONE evil of a peculiar nature arose from this state of things. The militia corps being in so great a proportion composed of substitutes, or persons induced to enlist by bounty, &c. and the militia generally not being dressed in uniform, they were despised by those who composed the gentleman corps, who always spoke of them in the language of contempt, and to this day, in relating the incidents of the campaign, every thing bad or mean, that was done, they say was done by the militia. Perhaps this had too much foundation in truth, owing to the materials of which the militia was in part composed; but it is exceedingly impolitic to render the militia contemptible. The character of the militia ought to be had in the highest honour, and the laws should be so calculated as to render them the most respectable. They are as much the representatives of the citizens, when they are called to support the laws of their country, as th

members of Congreſs are their Repreſentatives to make thoſe laws.

To render the militia reſpectable, no ſubſtitute ſhould be admitted, unleſs in extreme caſes, and even in thoſe caſes the perſon admitted ſhould be of equal character, and have as much at ſtake in the reſult, as the citizen whoſe place he ſupplies. In ſhort he ought to have an equal ſtake, at riſk, in the commonwealth, and no exoneration ſhould be admitted on account of religious ſcruples. Thoſe citizens, who have no ſcruples againſt being legiſlators, magiſtrates, or jurors, ought not be admitted to benefit by ſuch ſcruples, when they are neceſſarily called on, to ſupport the laws of their country, which are the common inheritance of all the citizens. The man, who enjoys affluence or the honour of holding public offices, ought not on that account to be exempted from the riſk and fatigue of militia ſervice, in ſupport of the government, in which he has more at ſtake than his leſs fortunate neighbours. In the diſtribution of natural evils, the abodes of honour and affluence are not more free from diſeaſes and pains, than the abodes of thoſe, who enjoy a more ſcanty portion, neither ought they to be more indulged when political diſeaſes ſhake the commonwealth. In ſuch caſes they ought to ſubmit to common riſk with thoſe, whoſe lot it is to be in equal ſtations in the ſervice in which they are employed. To have the militia diſtinguiſhed into gentlemen privates, and plebean privates, is wholly anti-republican. A ſtanding army is preferable to a militia thus diſtinguiſhed. In the late expedition, the name *militia* was underſtood to have the ſame idea affixed to it, as *plebean* or

lower order of citizens. An army, arranged in this manner, never can have confidence within itſelf, nor embrace the confidence of their fellow citizens.

When it becomes abſolutely neceſſary to call out the militia to ſuppreſs inſurrections, or to aid the civil magiſtrate againſt combinations too powerful for the ordinary adminiſtration of the laws; if the militia were compoſed of the citizens drawn in their proper claſſes, no one corps could be held in contempt by the other, and every corps would have within itſelf a ſufficient number of orderly citizens, whoſe reſpect to their own character and to the laws would be ſufficient ſecurity againſt marauding and other outrages. A militia, called out on theſe principles, in this country where the principles of government are ſo generally underſtood, and where mildneſs of temper is a leading feature in our character, would certainly be the leaſt dangerous, and alſo the moſt ſucceſsful; for the inſurgents in this caſe would be leſs deſperate, as they would have leſs to dread. They would conſider the army, as their fellow citizens, diſcharging their duty in obedience to the laws, on the ſame principles with a court, jury or ſheriff, and not as officious knight-errants, who were ſtimulated, perhaps, by the reſentments of political party ſpirit, or the antipathies ſometimes ariſing from local ſituation. Nor would they view them as an undiſciplined band of ſubſtitutes, induced to undertake the ſervice by the receipt of bounty and the expectation of plunder, without any regard to the love of the government or the deteſtation of crimes. This deſcription of men are juſt ſo much worſe than a ſtanding ar-

my, as they are leſs in the habits of military ſubordination.

Being informed from the beſt authority at Carliſle, that in the city of Philade'phia, every perſon, except the volunteers, whoſe duty it was to go on the weſtern expedition, and who had the means of doing it, procured ſubſtitutes, it is equally certain that this was alſo the caſe in thoſe counties, where people entertained religious ſcruples, and to a certain degree through all the ſtates, on which the requiſitions were made. From theſe circumſtances, and finding that the word militia was a term of reproach attached to the claſs regiments by the volunteer corps, I was the leſs ſurprized at the licentious and inflammatory ſpirit, which at that period formed ſo conſpicuous a trait in the character of the army, and which it coſt the Preſident ſo much labour and attention to ſubdue. Indeed it gave me very ſenſible pleaſure to diſcover ſuch corps, as contained a conſiderable proportion of citizens who turned out in obedience to the laws, and not from any ſiniſter inducement; as theſe were the men who had the greateſt common intereſt in ſupporting the government, and reſtoring obedience to the laws, where their authority had been infringed. I had conſequently the moſt confident expectations, that in their own conduct they would give a ſalutary example of obedience to that authority they were employed to ſupport, and ſhew a reſpect to that order, which it was the object of the expedition to reſtore. And I felicitate myſelf and my country, that I was not diſappointed in my expectation. The people of the weſtern country generally had the ſame impreſſions; for I have been well informed that they diſcover-

ed much greater confidence in thoſe citizens, who turned out in their claſſes, in obedience to the laws, and treated them with more reſpect, where they could diſtinguiſh them, than they did others.

The volunteer corps were more generally men of liberal education, and therefore as gentlemen had a ſenſe of honour, and would not ſtoop to the baſeneſs of plundering or committing wanton deſtruction, and the moſt reſpectable among them were ſenſible of the importance of ſetting an example of obedience to the laws in their own conduct; and even ſuch of them as had but little reſpect to the laws, or who thought they were not obligatory on them in dealing with thoſe, whoſe diſobedience they were called to ſuppreſs, (and ſome of them conſidered every man who drank whiſkey to be of that deſcription) yet paid a reluctant reſpect to the expreſs orders of the Preſident; I ſay reluctant, for they murmured at them, and with difficulty ſubmitted.

The oſtentatious vaunts, and ferocious threats, loudly expreſſed by the bluſtering blades in theſe corps, which were perhaps exaggerated by fame, and the peculiar circumſtance of their being compoſed in part of ſuch characters, as never were ſeen in arms in the defence of their country, when the ſucceſs and barbarity of a powerful invading enemy required the utmoſt exertions of all the virtue and energy the country could afford for its defence, at a time when the citizens of the moſt remote frontier ſettlements marched in the moſt inclement ſeaſons to the diſtant ſhores in ſupport of the then vibrating cauſe of virtue and mankind; I ſay, theſe circumſtances made an impreſſion unfavourable to the character of theſe corps in the minds of the ſe-

ber citizens generally through the ſtate, but eſpecially thoſe in the weſtern counties, who were the objects of their threats, without reſpect to innocence or guilt. Theſe circumſtances gave an apprehenſion that hatred to the weſtern people generally, rather than patriotiſm, was the motive of their being volunteers in the cauſe; and as hatred always begets hatred and diſtruſt, ſo it happened in this caſe, at leaſt ſo far as to mar that confidence which well diſpoſed people would otherwiſe have entertained; however, the diſcreet and humane behaviour, which ſome of theſe corps diſcovered on ſome trying occaſions, went far to remove this prejudice; and it is certain that the licentiouſneſs of a few contributed more than any other cauſe to fix theſe unfavourable impreſſions; but even that circumſtance aroſe naturally out of the principles of their ſelections.

As that extreme degree of inflammation which diſcovered itſelf in the army, has been the occaſion of ſerious reflection, and given ground to doubt, whether a militia army is the beſt calculated for the internal ſupport of government, and their ſuitableneſs for that purpoſe is ſuppoſed to be rendered the more queſtionable by having recourſe to hiſtorical facts, which relate to a war of brothers, from that of the ten tribes of Iſrael againſt Benjamin at Gibeah, down to modern times; it is proper therefore to examine further into the incidental, or extraneous cauſes of the inflammatory ſpirit in the army, beſides what aroſe from its ſtructure, and the other circumſtances I have related; for if in the reſult of the enquiry, it ſhould be decided againſt a militia, it will afford a ſtrong, if not a concluſive, argument in favour of ſtanding armies in time of peace, and if

this is once admitted, eſtabliſhing an hereditary monarchy becomes abſolutely neceſſary, as a thing of courſe, or at leaſt, an ariſtocracy as firmly eſtabliſhed, as that of Venice, with all its multifarious perplexity of checks and tyrannical guards, calculated for the eternal excluſion of equal liberty. But this mortifying reſult ought not to be admitted, without the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny and the fulleſt conviction.

That the citizens would have been conſiderably incenſed at being called out from their farms and their merchandize, to go ſuch a diſtance to ſupport the execution of the laws, even though they themſelves diſapproved of the law that was oppoſed, would not have been ſurpriſing. But if there had been no extraneous excitements, ſympathy would have been mingled with their reſentments, and their object would have been to reclaim rather than kill, and to reconcile rather than inſult. They would have been careful to diſtinguiſh the innocent from the guilty, and the ignorant and miſtaken from the intentionally wicked, and have paid a ſacred reſpect to the authority of the laws in their own deportment, while they were contributing to bring their fellow citizens to puniſhment for their diſobedience. I ſpeak of the temper diſcovered at Carliſle, rather than their after conduct; in the reſult, however, it will appear, that that temper was not quite extinguiſhed. Among the extraneous excitements may be reckoned the great pains that had been taken to ſet the conduct of the weſtern country people indiſcriminately in the moſt obnoxious point of view; even thoſe, who had exerted themſelves with the greateſt induſtry, were characteriſed as the chief promoters of the inſur-

rection, and the outrages were greatly aggravated both with reſpect to their object and extent. Indeed the leading rioters themſelves contributed to this laſt circumſtance; they exceedingly magnified their own numbers, boaſted of their proweſs, and by bluſtering threats intimidated thoſe who were oppoſed to them, and produced a ſcene of temporizing, for a time, in ſome places, which was well calculated to deceive the people in the eaſtern country; but it was at no time true that judges, magiſtrates, clergy, members of Congreſs and Aſſembly, were oppoſed to the execution of the law, nor that any of them even temporiſed, except in particular ſituations, and for a ſhort time. Theſe ſlanders were the reports of exciſemen, and ſpies, and were not well founded.

The evident reluctance of the militia to turn out rendered it neceſſary to addreſs them with recruiting orations, calculated to rouſe their paſſions. For this purpoſe, trifling incidents were magnified into crimes, and the moſt orderly citizens were characterized as offenders. Indeed many were induced to expect, that the whole country would be given up to military execution and plunder.

When the commiſſioners were in Greenſburgh on their return to Philadelphia, a few drunken worthleſs perſons, one of whom had a complaint againſt a ſervant belonging to the chief-juſtice, came in the night to the tavern, where the commiſſioners lodged, and demanded entrance; but on being refuſed admittance, and threatened by the landlord to be fired on if they perſiſted, they retired for ſome time, but returning again they made another attempt, and threw ſome ſtones at the houſe, with which they broke one pane of glaſs in a window

in the ſecond ſtory. General Irwin upon this, putting his head out of the window, threatened to ſhoot ſome of them if they did not diſperſe; they immediately fled, and did not return again. The diſturbance was not ſo great as even to awaken ſuch of the commiſſioners as were aſleep, but from what they were heard to ſay, there is no doubt but they deſigned to uſe the commiſſioners ill. They threatened to give the commiſſioners a haſty paſſage to Philadelphia, but they were few in number and of the meaneſt of the rabble; there was nothing ſerious to be apprehended from the attack. They have ſince been puniſhed ſeverely by the ſtate courts, and if the governor has not remitted their fine, are yet in priſon, for none of them had wherewith to pay it. This outrage was of ſo little importance that the commiſſioners did not even give it a place in the catalogue of riots contained in the report which they made to the Preſident, as proofs that order was not ſufficiently reſtored when they left the country. Yet this attempt, trifling and unimportant as it was, was in the recruiting harangues and popular orations, magnified to an alarming atrocity, and the whole country charged with being worſe than ſavages, they having maltreated ambaſſadors of peace. I have myſelf ſeen members of the legiſlature mobbed and dragged out of their lodgings in the open day. I have ſeen the legiſlature itſelf kept in dureſs by a mob, obliged to do the moſt important buſineſs, for which they were not competent at the time. My own lodging and that of other members of the legiſlature have been attacked and a whole window broke in the dead of the night. I have known the houſes of judges of the ſupreme court, and other reſpectable citizens, mobbed in

the ſame manner, and all this was done even in the city of Philadelphia, and by citizens, ſeveral of whom occupy high official ſtations and eat the bread of the government at this day, and though thoſe combinations were too ſtrong for the ordinary power of the civil magiſtrate at the time, yet no extraordinary methods were taken to ſuppreſs them. The temporary inflammation was ſuffered to ſubſide, and the whole city was never charged with being guilty of it. No reſpectable citizen was engaged in breaking the pane of glaſs at Greenſburgh, yet this circumſtance, blazoned as it was, had an amazing effect in exciting the militia to turn out, and to inflame them againſt the whole people of the weſtern counties. In going to war with ſavages, we often hear advocates for extending mercy to them, but the people of the weſtern country were, by thoſe who then gave the tone to public opinion, conſidered as wild beaſts only fit for extermination, and to ſkewer the Whiſky-men, not to reclaim them, or to aid the judicary, was the declared object both in New-Jerſey and Pennſylvania. I have the charity to believe, however, becauſe I wiſh to believe it, that in moments of cool reflection many of them recollected that numbers of thoſe very men whom they exterminated in imagination, croſſed the mountains in the depths of the winter ſnows, and traverſed the frozen roads of the lower country, when their path might have been traced by their blood, to ſave the city of Philadelphia from the Britiſh, and to protect their brethren at the moſt diſtant ſhores of New Jerſey.

One regiment of troops, for three years, and another of militia, marched from Weſtmoreland in the winter

of 1776, when our cauſe was at the loweſt ebb. The exertions and ſervice of this regular regiment was perhaps equal to that of any other on the then eſtabliſhment, and the militia diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a ſkirmiſh with the Britiſh near Woodbridge, as well as in the diſcharge of other dangerous and fatiguing ſervices.

The publication I have already mentioned, publiſhed by one who was a friend of government, and who wrote in the character and manner of an inſurgent, on purpoſe to excite the militia in New-Jerſey and the lower counties of Pennſylvania, had an incredible effect in exciting and inflaming the citizens of that ſtate and others; particularly the following words contained in it: "Brothers, you muſt not think to frighten us with fine arranged liſts of infantry, cavalry and artillery, compoſed of your water-melon armies taken from the Jerſey ſhores; they would cut a much better figure in warring with the crabs and oyſters about the capes of Delaware. It is a common thing for Indians to fight your beſt armies at the proportion of one to five; therefore we would not heſitate a moment to attack this army at the rate of one to ten &c." This, together with the ridicule contained in it againſt the commiſſioners, paſted up on the market houſe, and publiſhed in the gazette, at the very criſis when the neceſſity of arming the citizens depended on the deciſions of the moment, connected with a miſrepreſentation of the inſult offered to the commiſſioners of peace at Greenſburgh, excited indignation and rage in almoſt every breaſt. This dialogue, having been aſcribed to Brackenridge, on account of a faint imitation of his ſtile,

which the author attempted, together with a letter from him to Mr. Tench Coxe of Philadelphia, wrote at a time when there was danger of letters being intercepted, and which it ſeems was miſunderſtood, occaſioned a very high degree of reſentment againſt him, and the whole weſtern country.

A report made by the ſecretary of the treaſury to the Preſident, containing a narrative of the inſtances of the oppoſition made to the execution of the exciſe law in the weſtern counties, was alſo calculated to inflame the army in a high degree.

The object of this report, however, was not ſolely to influence and inflame the militia againſt the weſtern country, but perhaps to convince the aſſociate judge of the propriety of giving the important certificate, neceſſary to enable the Preſident to call forth the militia, and the Preſident of the propriety of exerciſing that power.

The narrative begins with denouncing thoſe people for holding and circulating opinions, which if they were criminal, had been entertained and circulated by the moſt reſpectable authority in the United States long before, and it goes on to enumerate the acts of oppoſition with the higheſt colouring they would poſſibly bear, and intermixes real facts with miſrepreſentations, or even worſe, and concludes in ſuch a manner as to leave an impreſſion that there was not a good citizen in that country but the exciſe officers. This coming from ſo reſpectable a quarter, not only made a deep impreſſion on the militia, but excited thoſe who were the ſecretary's admirers to a high degree of inflammation; and to make the greateſt exertions to inflame others

againſt thoſe who were citizens of the weſtern country; by theſe no difference was made, between thoſe who were guilty of breaking, and thoſe who were active in ſupporting, the laws, nor between thoſe who reſided near where the riots prevailed, and thoſe who lived a day's journey diſtant. Further obſervations will be made on this report in another place.

I have already mentioned that the inſpector and Marſhal left Pittſburgh in a canoe, and going down the Ohio till they were paſt the Pennſylvania line, came through Virginia till they got over the mountains. I have alſo mentioned that three or four others were very tyrannically and fooliſhly expelled from Pittſburgh, during the aſcendant of Bradford, when his terror gave efficacy to his demands, when the citizens of Pittſburgh were under apprehenſions that that place was doomed to deſtruction, and when many others would have wiſhed themſelves and their property well away from it. Pittſburgh is ſituated on the verge of the ſettled part of the country, and when the rendezvous was at Braddock's field, the communication between it and the country was in a great meaſure cut off.

Several of thoſe who were thus expelled felt themſelves exceedingly hurt, and expoſed the character of the people indiſcriminately, in a manner, that while it procured ſympathy to themſelves, at the ſame time excited indignation againſt the citizens of the weſtern country. The inſpector and marſhal might have come very ſafely through the weſtern counties by going a few miles up the Allegany river. The roads north of Greenſburgh were not ambuſcaded, nor am I convinced

that the apprehenſion of the roads having been waylaid at any time was well founded, except when the mail was robbed; but this outrage gave reaſonable ground to ſuſpect that they were near the Monongahela. The others that were expelled were accompanied by two members of the Pittſburgh committee as far as Greenſburgh, and ſaw no appearance of any interruption on the road. Colonel Nevil halted in the eaſtern parts of Weſtmoreland till after the Parkiſon ferry meeting, and was not diſturbed.

A democratic ſociety had been erected at Waſhington town, a few months preceding the inſurrection, and it publiſhed ſome intemperate reſolutions reſpecting the conduct of government relative to the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, the appointment of a chief juſtice and a ſenator as ambaſſadors to Europe, &c. But I do not remember that they ſaid any thing againſt the exciſe law. Their reſolutions were written in imitation of reſolutions that had been publiſhed in Kentucky. Though there is no proof that theſe publications had any influence in promoting the inſurrection, yet the damned democratic ſocieties, as they were called, were conſidered as the cauſe of it by many in the army, from the generals down to the privates. I found too, that it was generally thought that the country was full of thoſe ſocieties, though in fact there was but one, and that one had been of ſhort duration and compoſed of but few members, ſeveral of whom I find were of the beſt diſpoſed citizens; ſome of them, however, took a prominent ſtation in the inſurrection, of which number Mr. Bradford was one.

The journals of Congreſs and the debates publiſhed

in the news-papers in the winter following, will give a ſtanding teſtimony of the irritation that prevailed at that time againſt democratic ſocieties, not only in the army, but in the councils of the United States. This attempt in government to ſuppreſs popular ſocieties had a tendency to revive them when they were on the decline. I have ever thought it impolitic in government to denounce, where it cannot puniſh. Societies cannot be ſuppreſſed in a free government, nor ſhould it be attempted. They will do good or ill according to the good ſenſe and diſcretion of thoſe who compoſe them, therefore in order to reform ſocieties we muſt begin with making men wiſer and better; when they blazon the meaſures of adminiſtration or panegyrize the perſons who conduct them, they are not denounced, therefore when they do otherwiſe they muſt be tolerated.

After making competent alowances for thoſe extraneous cauſes of irritation, and for the materials of which many of the militia corps were compoſed, &c. a deciſion in favour of employing the militia, when an armed force is abſolutely neceſſary to be employed in ſupporting the execution of civil or criminal proceſs, is concluſive. I ſay when an armed force is abſolutely neceſſary, for ſurely a ſheriff's *poſſe*, taken from the maſs of the freeholders, is the moſt proper force for that purpoſe. It has the example of paſt ages, and the teſtimony of experience in its favour; and if this force had been employed in due ſeaſon, another force would not have been neceſſary in the weſtern counties.

It is beyond my purpoſe to enquire or develope what effects would have reſulted from employing a ſtand-

ing army in the execution of civil or criminal proceſs; but when the revengeful temper, and nefarious endeavours to gratify that temper, through influence obtained in the army and with the judiciary, that was exhibited in the weſtern expedition, and which will be related in the ſequel, is conſidered, it will readily be admitted, that if a mercenary army had been employed on that occaſion in preference to a militia, inſtead of the puny attempts that were made, there would have been ſucceſsful exertions, to ſacrifice innocent victims to party ſpleen and perſonal rancour.

CHAP. XIV.

ABOUT ſeven o'clock in the morning of the day on which we arrived at Carliſle, we waited on the Preſident, and delivered to him the reſolutions of aſſurance agreed on at the ſecond meeting at Parkiſon's Ferry. We found him alone, and were received and treated with politeneſs and attention. After a ſhort converſation he informed us that he was juſt going out about ſome buſineſs relating to the army when he ſaw us approaching, and that after breakfaſt he was going to ſee a diviſion of the army march, that therefore he could not examine the papers at preſent, but would converſe with us on the ſubject at ten o'clock that morning.

When we waited on him at ten o'clock, we found him in company with governor Howell, to whom he introduced us. Col. Hamilton then ſecretary of the treaſury was preſent all the time, but governor Howell

withdrew before the converſation ended. The Preſident opened the converſation with a diſcourſe on the ſubject of the reſolutions. In which he expatiated at conſiderable length on the evils occaſioned by the inſurrection, and the injury reſulting from it to the cauſe of liberty and the general intereſts of republican government in the world. He ſaid that the outrages, committed againſt the government, and the peace of the citizens in the weſtern counties, had agitated the United States from one end to the other, like an electrical ſhock, and diſpoſed them very generally to turn out in ſupport of the violated laws; he ſpoke of the reſpectability of the army that was then at the places of rendezvous, or on their march, and the alacrity with which they left their farms and their merchandize, in order to ſupport the government, and laws, when called on for that purpoſe, and ſaid that it was found neceſſary to ſend repeated expreſſes to prevent too great a number from marching from ſome of the ſtates, particularly New-Jerſey, and that all the ſtates that had been called on, appeared to have ſent forward the quota required.

He lamented the ſacrifices that the farmer and merchant were under the neceſſity of making, and the great expence that would be incurred to the government by the expedition. He expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that the people were ſo blind to their own intereſt as not to have prevented the neceſſity of it by giving to the commiſſioners ſuch aſſurances of their ſubmiſſion to the laws, as would have ſheltered them from puniſhment and ſecured the reſtoration of order, and that we and other well diſpoſed citizens

had not been more ſucceſsful in perſuading them to take that ſalutary courſe. He concluded his obſervations on this ſubject, by giving his opinion, that the reſolutions which we had preſented were not ſufficiently unequivocal to juſtify him in diſmiſſing the army, now when they were rendezvouſed, and the greateſt proportion of the expences incurred, and the ſacrifices of the merchant and farmer already made. He appealed to our own knowledge, that the preparation for an expedition was the greateſt part of the expence, and obſerved, that being thus far advanced, it would be neceſſary to obtain further and more ample aſſurances of ſubmiſſion, before he could diſmiſs the army, than perhaps would have been required at an earlier period; That the objects to be obtained by the expedition were unequivocal aſſurances of ſubmiſſion to the laws, and protection to the officers of the revenue for the future; and that the good diſpoſitions of government, expreſſed by the commiſſioners, being rejected, and the march of the army rendered neceſſary, ſome atonements would be required for the infractions committed againſt the laws. Obſerving that the reſolutions referred him to us for further information, he invited us to proceed in giving it to him.

We, in reply, expreſſed our unfeigned ſatisfaction at diſcovering that the authority of the United States could call forth ſo reſpectable and well equipped an army, to ſupport the government and laws, when ſuch a meaſure became neceſſary, and at the patriotiſm diſplayed by thoſe who had made ſuch ſacrifices for that purpoſe; but expreſſed our ſincere grief for the occaſion that had rendered ſuch a diſplay of power and

patriotiſm neceſſary. We expreſſed our opinion, that a militia army was the moſt congenial to a republican government, and the moſt favourable to liberty, but ſuggeſted ſerious apprehenſions that from ſome peculiar circumſtances the preſent militia army, though ſo very reſpectable, had a more threatening aſpect to the people of the weſtern country than even a mercenary army; and ſuggeſted that their irritation and ſenſe of inſult might be in proportion to their wealth, reſpectability, and the ſacrifices which they had made, and that from theſe circumſtances the difficulty of introducing diſcipline, and preſerving ſubordination to the laws in the army, might be increaſed. We acknowledged the wiſdom and humanity, diſplayed by the Preſident, in ſending commiſſioners, veſted with ſuch ample authority to reſtore order, by granting ſo liberal an amneſty to the inſurgents, and our grief that this beneficent meaſure had not rendered coercive meaſures unneceſſary, and then proceeded to relate the circumſtances which contributed to prevent that ſalutary meaſure from being completely ſucceſsful.

In doing this, we ſtated briefly the unforeſeen and untoward circumſtances, that rendered it impoſſible for the well diſpoſed people to prevent the commencement of the inſurrection; ſuch as their diſtance from each other, the hurry of the ſeaſon, and the ſecrecy of the marſhal's arrival and progreſs, which put it out of the power of the friends of order to make any arrangements for his protection, and to preſerve the peace of the country; that it required time for the well diſpoſed people to know in whom they could confide, and the unexpectedneſs and rapidity of the outrages at firſt

ſtruck people with ſuch aſtoniſhment, as required time for reflection before exertions could be made. The backwardneſs of well diſpoſed people, who were innocent, to expoſe themſelves, the terror that was ſpread abroad by thoſe who became leaders among the inſurgents, and the diſapprobation of the exciſe law, even by many, who, though they were diſpoſed to ſubmit to it, heſitated ſome time before they would put themſelves to riſk for its ſupport, rendered it impoſſible to put a ſtop to the diſorders without time and labour. We detailed the imperious and unforeſeen circumſtances, that in a great meaſure fruſtrated the intention of the meeting of the committee of 60 at Redſtone old fort, and the motives by which the innocent citizens were actuated in declining to attend the meetings, or refuſing to ſign the inſtrument of aſſurances ſubmitted to them by the commiſſioners. We gave a candid account of the violent oppoſition that was given at ſome townſhip meetings, and aſſerted, that this violent oppoſition, as far as was within our knowledge, was, with very few exceptions, made by the moſt ignorant and obſtinate claſs of people, ſome of whom are to be found in all countries; that few of theſe having either character or property to loſe, availed themſelves of this ſeaſon of diſorder to inſult judges, magiſtrates, and generally thoſe people to whom they, on other occaſions, had recourſe for ſuſtenance, or to whom they uſually reſorted for advice in their difficulties: And in the few places, where theſe gave diſturbance, that their ſucceſs was owing to their deſperation, and not to the greatneſs of their number; that from the very circumſtance of their having little or nothing to loſe, their threats

of burning, and other acts of violence, were the more dreaded; yet that notwithstanding their threats, there had not been a single instance of their having been put in execution on this occasion. We stated, that these were not the people that ever could give trouble to government in settled times, and that most of them had come in, some of them in tears, within a few days, and requested to be permitted to sign the assurances; and that in many places they had been permitted to sign, with certification, however, that though it might go in abatement of their offence, yet it gave them no claim for an amnesty. We assured the President, that but few of those who opposed the signing had been guilty of other offences, except, perhaps, where the riots originated.

We also assured him, that in all the counties prosecutions had been commenced against such of them, as it was thought necessary and prudent for the present peace of the country to prosecute; and that what had been done in this way rendered it certain, that the public peace could be preserved, and atonements procured for infractions committed on the laws by the ordinary proceedings in the courts of justice; and gave it as our opinion, that if the powers of the commissioners had not expired so soon, order would have been perfectly restored, and satisfactory assurances of submission to the laws obtained. We informed him, that the newspapers, containing the orders to the militia to hold themselves in readiness to march, coming to Parkison's ferry meeting on the morning after the arrival of the commissioners had been announced, excited an inflammatory agitation of mind with many, which tended, for a time, to

efface the favourable impreſſions, that had been previouſly made, by the approach of the commiſſioners being announced, the extent or nature of whoſe powers was not yet generally known, and that in fact this circumſtance irritated ſome who had been heretofore well diſpoſed. That, generally, all who had been diſaffected to independence, either among the Engliſh or Germans, countenanced the diſorders, and were oppoſed to the reſtoration of order; that among thoſe, ſtrangers were known to be entertained, who were ſuppoſed to be emiſſaries from places at a diſtance. That though the ſpirit of diſorder ſpread like an epidemic from place to place, yet at every attempt to reſtore order, ſome progreſs had been made, and many induced to forſake the cauſe of oppoſition; that after the Redſtone meeting, few, if any citizens, otherwiſe ſenſible and diſcreet, adhered to the inſurgents; that in conſequence of this, thoſe who continued obſtinate became the more deſperate in proportion to the ſmallneſs of the number of men of diſcretion and property that countenanced them, and as their laſt hopes of ſucceſs in their oppoſition depended on their preventing the ſucceſs of the meetings for giving aſſurances on the 11th of September, the agents of Tom the Tinker made their laſt effort to defeat the ſalutary intentions of theſe townſhip meetings, yet with all their induſtry, it was but in comparatively few places that they had any ſucceſs, or produced any diſturbance.

We aſſured him that the greateſt cauſe of ſo ſmall a number ſigning the declaration of ſubmiſſion, was the reluctance of the innocent to give ſuch aſſurances as might imply an acknowledgment of guilt, have the

appearance of giving a new teſt not required by law; or (as they thought the words indirectly meant) prevent them from petitioning for a repeal or reviſion of the exciſe law. That it was this principle that influenced the whole county of Fayette, the greater extent of Weſtmoreland, and the frontier parts of the other counties, to withhold their ſignatures from theſe aſſurances preſcribed by the commiſſioners.

We ſtated that from the meeting at Redſtone, but eſpecially from a view of the characters who in ſome places oppoſed the giving aſſurances to government, the well diſpoſed people had become convinced that it was their duty to ſtand forth with greater vigour in ſupport of the laws; that they, having come to know, and have confidence in, each other, had very generally entered into aſſociations to ſupport the laws, and that theſe aſſociations in favour of government were generally entered into within a few days after the 11th of September, and had every appearance of being ſo ſucceſsful, that the people, who had been the moſt troubleſome, ſolicited permiſſion to ſign the aſſociations as a matter of favour, and that ſince that time there had neither been diſturbances nor threats.

We alſo ſtated, that on the whole a much greater proportion of uſeful information had been diſſeminated among the people, reſpecting their political duties and intereſts than formerly, that the number of thoſe who had qualified themſelves for giving information, and who were induſtrious in inſtructing their neighbours, were greatly encreaſed in the country, and that many of the clergy were particularly uſeful in this way, and had been induſtrious in promoting ſubmiſſion to the

laws, that the inſolence of the moſt ignorant and turbulent perſons had fully convinced all men of diſcretion and intereſt in the country, that if they permitted government to be violently oppoſed, even in the execution of an obnoxious law, the ſame ſpirit would naturally lead to the deſtruction of all ſecurity and order; they ſaw by experience that in a ſtate of anarchy the name of liberty would be prophaned to ſanction the moſt deſpotic tyranny, that for ſome time after the commencement of the inſurrection, the extreme agitation of mind that prevailed operated as a repulſive principle againſt receiving information, but that, that temper having ſubſided, there was now a ſolicitude to be informed, and that in fact many who had been active in ſome of the diſorders, being ſince convinced of their folly, were now among the firmeſt friends of order, and active in promoting that diſpoſition among their neighbours. This circumſtance, together with the leaders having generally ſigned the amneſty, and left the more ignorant and obſtinate to ſhift for themſelves, we ſaid would for the future deſtroy all confidence among thoſe who might be diſpoſed to commit diſorders; that added to this the general conviction now prevailing among all men of property and diſcretion, that it is their intereſt as well as duty to preſerve order, afforded the ſtrongeſt ground of rational confidence, that in future the laws would be obeyed and the officers protected.

With reſpect to atonements, we ſuggeſted, that if the army marched into the country in order to procure them, the moſt proper objects having already ſheltered themſelves under the faith of government, thoſe who

were guilty and had not ſigned the amneſty would have time to eſcape while the army was advancing. We propoſed to carry up with us in confidence ſuch inſtructions as the Preſident would tranſmit to any perſon, whom he would appoint to commence proſecutions, and alleged that in that way alone proper ſubjects for making atonement could be procured, and that doing this, would afford a deciſive teſt whether the execution of the laws could be ſupported or not. We concluded by requeſting the Preſident to inform us if time would be yet allowed to procure more certain and unequivocal aſſurances, and if this was granted, in what manner theſe aſſurances ſhould be obtained, and how, or where, they ſhould be communicated to him.

The Preſident, in reply, aſſured us that it would have been his wiſh to have authoriſed the commiſſioners to have given the people ſufficient time for the agitation to ſubſide, and to be informed of the terms and to deliberate on them, without ordering the militia to be in readineſs for marching, if time and other circumſtances would have permitted, but that the time the inſurrection commenced was not of his chooſing, and was too near the winter to enable him to afford the time he wiſhed to have given, and that the flame having caught in Maryland, and ſymptoms of it having been diſcovered in ſome other places in Pennſylvania, rendered it improper to delay the expedition till the ſpring, leſt the flame ſhould ſpread further.

He ſaid there were ſome diſorderly corps in the army, that ſome diſorders had been committed on the march to Carliſle, and that two men had been actually killed, he deſcribed; circumſtantially, the manner in

which they were killed, and ſaid that though from the information he had received neither caſe appeared to have been murder, yet he had given up the authors of both theſe offences, to the laws of our own ſtate, and would do ſo in every inſtance, where the laws required that this ſhould be done, and he aſſured us that he would provide by diſperſing the diſorderly corps among better troops, or otherwiſe, that they ſhould be kept in ſtrict ſubordination, that in every inſtance, where infractions were made on the laws by any of the army, they ſhould be ſubjected to puniſhment. He aſſured us further, that the army ſhould not conſider themſelves as judges or executioners of the laws, but as employed to ſupport the proper authorities in the execution of them. That he had been obliged to leave Virginia, before he tranſacted ſome neceſſary buſineſs, which he had intended, and to come in haſte to Philadelphia on account of the inſurrection, and that he had left Philadelphia, where we knew his preſence was neceſſary to prepare for the meeting of Congreſs, in order to come to the army; that he mixed and converſed daily with the officers, and that his great object in all this was to impreſs the army with a proper ſenſe of the importance of ſubmitting to the laws, and that unleſs they did ſo, the laſt reſort of a republican government would be defeated. He added that he would go to the Maryland Brigade, then rendezvouſed at Williams-port, and from thence to the Virginia troops at fort Cumberland, and return by Bedford, where the troops now on their march from Carliſle would encamp for ſome time, and that his great object would be to impreſs on

the army, in theſe different places, a ſenſe of the neceſſity of its ſubordination to the laws.

With reſpect to the expence, &c. of the expedition, he ſaid there might ſome good grow out of it to conſole, if not compenſate us. That though we had made a republican form of government and enacted laws under it, yet we had given no teſtimony to the world of being able or willing to ſupport our government and laws, that this being the firſt inſtance of the kind ſince the commencement of the government, he thought it his duty to bring out ſuch a force as would not only be ſufficient to ſubdue the inſurgents, if they made reſiſtance, but to cruſh to atoms any oppoſition that might riſe in any other corner; that this would operate in favour of humanity, by effectually diſcouraging any, that might be otherwiſe ſo diſpoſed, from provoking bloodſhed; and that in the reſult it might teach the citizens to be more cautious of writing or ſpeaking in ſuch a manner of the meaſures of government, as might have a tendency to inflame the citizens, and would alſo convince other nations that we could defend ourſelves. He ſaid that the queſtions we had aſked, reſpecting further aſſurances, would require ſome time for conſideration, and appointed us to wait on him again at five o'clock in the evening.

In the evening interview, the Preſident declined ſending forward with us or others, orders for ſecuring offenders. This we expected. He told us that we ought to know among ourſelves who were guilty, and proſecute them. He encouraged us to take more unequivocal aſſurances from the people, but made no promiſe of amneſty on the account of theſe aſſurances, but

repeatedly ſaid that they might do good, and could do no harm, and he on this and every other occaſion preſſed it on us to take the utmoſt care that one gun ſhould not be fired, and added that if one gun was fired, he would not be reſponſible for the conſequences; we aſſured him that there was no deſign of making reſiſtance, but on the caution being repeated, we remarked that if a fool or deſperate man, to prevent himſelf from being taken, ſhould fire a gun, that it would be a great hardſhip if the whole country ſhould be implicated in his guilt; he anſwered that he did not intend that they ſhould, but that we did not know what might be the conſequence of firing one gun. He told us that he did not command the army, in perſon, but had appointed governor Lee commander in chief, and mentioned who were to command the militia of the different ſtates, and directed the orders he had prepared, to be read to us, as far as they reſpected the ſubordination of the army to the laws.

We had free acceſs to converſe on every topic that we thought might be uſeful, as long as we judged in convenient to ſtay, and in the courſe of the converſation ſecretary Hamilton, who was preſent and took a part in the general converſation, aſked us what were the grounds of our own confidence of ſubmiſſion to the laws, and the protection to be afforded to officers in the different parts of the country.

In anſwer to this we related the particular inſtances of coercion that had recently been given in the different counties, which diſcovered that there was both a diſpoſition and ability to put the laws in execution in all the four counties. We mentioned as another ground of

our confidence, the induſtry of the clergy in promoting ſubmiſſion to the laws, and ſtated ſeveral inſtances of it, ſuch as Mr M'Millin of Waſhington county refuſing to adminiſter the ſacrament of the lord's-ſupper to his congregation, until they would ſubmit to the laws, and Mr. Porter of Weſtmoreland, who laboured publicly and privately with ſucceſs from the beginning, to prevent the ſpirit of diſorder from ſpreading in his congregation; that many other clergymen had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and, that as ſoon as the agitation of mind had ſubſided which in ſome places rendered men deaf to inſtruction for a time, they had great influence with the people in bringing them to a ſenſe of their duty. We alſo ſtated that all the judges of the court in the different counties, without exception, the juſtices of the peace, and all who ever had been, or then were, Members of Aſſembly, with a few exceptions, chiefly in one county, were, and always had been well diſpoſed, and that in general all who had been diſtinguiſhed for underſtanding, to whom their neighbours in ſettled times had looked up to for counſel, were the friends of order.

We obſerved that during the agitation a remarkable change appeared to have taken place in ſociety, that an unuſual number of falſehoods, aſſerting that a vaſt variety of unuſual and oppreſſive taxes had been laid by Congreſs, that the wages of the members had been raiſed to eight dollars a day, &c. and that in conſequence of theſe reports, men who held offices either in the Federal or ſtate governments, were conſidered as combined againſt the people, and diſcredited in contradicting thoſe reports, while at the ſame time every traveller or vagrant was credi-

ted in aſſerting them, but that now, people having been generally undeceived, would never ſuffer themſelves to be ſo miſled for the future by crediting ſuch ſtories.

On being aſked by the ſecretary, what ground of confidence we had with reſpect to the country adjacent to the Monongahela, we anſwered that not having been preſent at the laſt meeting at Parkiſon's Ferry we had not perſonal knowledge reſpecting that country, but that Alexander Addiſon, Preſident of the ſtate courts in that diſtrict, who had been ſecretary of the meeting at Parkiſon's Ferry, had informed us by letter, that he had converſed with the principal diſtillers who reſided there, and that they had aſſured him that they would all ſubmit to the law. We added that Mr. Andrew M'Farlane, who reſided in the ſettlement, where the oppoſition had been the moſt violent, and who had himſelf been obnoxious to the rioters, had travelled down the road with us, and aſſured us, that he wou'd be reſponſible with all his eſtate, which was conſideble, for ſubmiſſion to the law, and protection to the officers in that ſettlement; and that he would even permit the office to be held in his own houſe, and be reſponſible for its ſafety; that on aſking him if he would permit an office to be kept in his houſe, ſuppoſing the officer to be very unpopular, he replied, that if that ſhould be the caſe, it might be more prudent for the officer to hold it for ſome time in Pittſburgh; where the garriſon was; but that a perſon who was not otherwiſe obnoxious would be in no danger from holding the office. Mr. M'Farlane's houſe is in Allegany county, but part of his land is in Waſhington *.

* See Note A. end of volume.

We acknowledged that a number were backward to believe that the militia would march out againſt them; but that this was occaſioned by the reports they heard almoſt every day, of liberty poles being erected in the old counties, of the militia refuſing to turn out, or determining to join the Inſurgents, when they did come; that hearing of the threats of violence that had been uttered by ſome, and greatly magnified by report, deterred waggoners and other travellers from telling the truth, unleſs they were certain of the company they were in; but that this deception no longer exiſted, and had generally prevailed only with a very ignorant ſet of people who were almoſt the only ungovernable perſons, that we had any trouble with towards the laſt. That the agitation of mind, anxiety, and apprehenſions of danger, falſe alarms and ſuſpicions, which perplexed ſociety for a few weeks, had rendered the citizens generally extremely deſirous of having order reſtored, and that before it had been ſo far accompliſhed, every man of influence and underſtanding was fully convinced that it was for their own intereſt to have the laws ſupported, and officers protected, in the diſcharge of their duty. The ſtate officers themſelves conceiving that the tranſition, from ſuppreſſing exciſemen to that of inſulting judges and other ſtate officers, was very eaſy, felt themſelves particularly intereſted in reſtoring order, and then we obſerved that from this general apprehenſion of danger and anxiety for order, there aroſe a greater ſecurity to government, than the moſt ſolemn declarations could poſſibly have otherwiſe given.

We ſuggeſted that the aſſurances which might be procured by the march of the army, and making ſevere examples by way of atonement, might not be unequivocal, that it might poſſibly rather increaſe animoſity and change the direction of reſentment from public outrages to private revenge, which was the more dangerous, as it would be more difficult to guard againſt it.

The Preſident had informed us, that it was the opinion of a number of the moſt reſpectable of our own citizens, that the march of the army would be neceſſary, not only for the reſtoring ſubmiſſion to the revenue laws, but for the protection of well diſpoſed citizens. We acknowledged that appearances about the time that the commiſſioners went away, and at ſome places on the day of ſigning the declaration, were ſuch as to juſtify that opinion, but aſſured him that from the change of temper, which had been evidenced, ſome of the beſt informed of thoſe who gave that opinion had changed their ſentiments, that probably all had, that though ſome citizens had received inſults, yet they did not wiſh for an army to revenge their cauſe, that the courts having been held through the whole circuit without inſult or oppoſition, there was no room to doubt but they were fully competent to the protection of the citizens.

We enquired whether advantage would be taken of want of form in ſigning the declaration? The Preſident ſaid he could not inform us unleſs he knew the circumſtances. We explained to him, that we meant only ſuch want of form as did not ariſe from any fault in the perſon claiming the amneſty, but from the con-

duct of others, ſuch as the papers being torn by a deſperate banditti after they had been ſigned; to this it was replied, that no advantage ſhould be taken of want of mere matter of form.

At this and all the other interviews, the Preſident authoriſed us to aſſure the citizens who had ſheltered themſelves under the faith of government, that one hair of their head ſhould not be injured, let their crimes have been ever ſo great.

We undertook to procure more general and unequivocal aſſurances, and to tranſmit them to the army, and were aſſured that the army would halt ſome time at Bedford, ſo as to give an opportunity of procuring the aſſurances, and that they would be well received. We then withdrew with a view of returning homewards next morning, but the Preſident ſent his private ſecretary early next morning to our lodging, to aſk us to wait on him again before we left town, but having rode out a few miles to ſee relations, the Preſident was gone out to the army before we returned; but as he returned from ſeeing the laſt diviſion of the army begin their march, he ſtopped his horſe before the door of our lodging, and calling us to him, converſed ſome time with us in the ſtreet, and appointed us to wait on him again in the evening, and to bring ſome aſſurances which we had informed him we had with us, that had been ſubſcribed after the 11th of September. We ſpent that evening converſing in the ſame manner, as we had done the former, and chiefly on the ſame ſubjects, till we thought it convenient to retire. We were diſmiſſed as politely as we had been received, and in all the opportunities we had of converſing with

the Preſident, we were treated with that candour and politeneſs which have at all times diſtinguiſhed his character.

At parting, both on this and a former interview, we expreſſed a wiſh that the Preſident could accompany the army to its fartheſt deſtination, and acknowledged that he had given every poſſible aſſurance of the army being kept in ſubordination, ſhort of what his own preſence and authority along with it would produce. He replied on this occaſion, that if when at Bedford he diſcovered that his preſence would be neceſſary, and he was not under the neceſſity of returning to Philadelphia, he poſſibly would ſtay with the army, if it advanced into the weſtern country.

I do not pretend that we were treated with attention, from any peculiar attachment to us, whether that was ſo or not is a matter of no importance in this caſe. The attention however that he paid to us was the reſult of ſound diſcretion. He was anxious to prevent bloodſhed, and at the ſame time to enforce due ſubmiſſion to the laws, with as little trouble as poſſible, and by encouraging us to procure more explicit aſſurances, he was accompliſhing a principal object of the expedition, before the army arrived. And in fact, ſuch explicit aſſurances were procured before they arrived, that nothing remained to be done by them but to ſupport the civil magiſtrate in procuring proper ſubjects to atone for the outrages that had been committed.

The Preſident was very ſenſible of the inflammatory and ungovernable diſpoſition that had diſcovered itſelf in the army before he arrived at Carliſle, and he had not only laboured inceſſantly to remove that ſpirit and

prevent its effects, but he was ſolicitous alſo to remove our fears. As often as we ſuggeſted apprehenſions of danger from that quarter, he conſoled us with aſſurances of good diſcipline and ſubordination to the laws being enforced, and of the diſorderly corps being diſperſed among ſuch as were more orderly, or if that would not do, that they ſhould be diſcharged with infamy. Orders were actually given to this effect, and at leaſt in ſome inſtances punctually executed.

The Preſident's attention to promote ſubordination to the laws, and curb the diſpoſition to licentiouſneſs, which was too evident, and to give us ſufficient confidence to encourage the people in the weſtern country, was found policy; for though nothing could be conceived more diſtreſſing to us than the very thoughts of hoſtile oppoſition to the authority of the United States, and though it was well known that we had made every exertion in our power to prevent it, yet if the army had marched to the weſtern country under the prevailing influence of that inflammatory and licentious ſpirit, which diſcovered itſelf among a part of them for ſome time at Carliſle, we muſt have thought it our duty to have returned with all haſte, and told the people what they had a right to expect; and in that caſe deſperation muſt have ſupplied the want of reſources, and the innocent muſt have made a common cauſe with the guilty; for there is no law, divine or human, to oblige people tamely to ſubmit to be ſkewered, hanged or ſhot, in cold blood, and this was for ſome time the declared object of ſuch as made moſt noiſe, and even of ſome who laid claim to the character of gentlemen; and it was a ſingular circumſtance, that

ſuch citizens of the weſtern country, as had made the greateſt exertions in preventing the ſpread of the diſorders, and reſtoring ſubmiſſion to the laws, were deſtined to be the firſt victims of this lawleſs rage.

The Preſident was happily ſucceſsful in reducing the licentious part of the army to ſubordination to the laws, and in inſpiring the people in the weſtern counties with ſuch a meaſure of confidence, as prevented any conduct on their part, that could give the army any juſt cauſe of irritation.

Information that there were many officers of diſcretion and experience in the army, as well as a great many orderly citizens, who come out in their proper claſſes, on militia duty, had alſo a tendency to abate the fears of the people of the weſtern counties.

CHAP. XV.

MR. Redick and I, returning with all convenient ſpeed, ſeparated at Greenſburgh in Weſtmoreland county, after preparing an advertiſement to be publiſhed in the Pittſburgh gazette, calling for a meeting of the delegates of townſhips, which had been elected for the firſt meeting at Parkiſon's ferry, and requeſting alſo the attendance of as many diſcreet citizens beſides, as could conveniently attend. Knowing that the gazette would be put to preſs before the advertiſement could reach the editor, we were obliged to make it too ſhort for conveying ſuch information as we wiſhed to communicate; conceiving alſo that the gazette was too ſlow a method of warning the citizens in the four counties, I undertook to give information by circular letters to the counties of Weſtmoreland and Fayette, and with the aſſiſtance afforded by others, theſe letters were ſent to proper perſons without delay. The extent of the country over which the people were ſpread,

and the importance of having the general ſenſe of the country unequivocally underſtood at the meeting, induced us to delay it ſome days longer than we had contemplated at Carliſle, rather than that the aſſurances to be obtained ſhould be doubtful. This, however, rendered it impoſſible to have the aſſurances forwarded to Bedford before the army had left it. The Preſident had found it neceſſary to return to Philadelphia, ſome days before the army left Bedford.

An excellent opportunity offered for taking the ſenſe of the citizens, at the regimental muſters, which happened on the week previous to the meeting. In Weſtmoreland and Fayette counties, the brigadier-generals and inſpectors of both counties, without mutual conſultation, propoſed to thoſe who attended the muſters, that they ſhould ſign aſſurances engaging themſelves, perſonally, to ſubmit to the laws, protect the officers, &c. and before the end of the week, on which the muſters were held, all the citizens of thoſe two counties, whoſe names were in the muſter rolls, and could attend, had ſigned explicit aſſurances. A number of them had done ſo before, on the day appointed by the commiſſioners, or within a few days after it.

Mr. Redick having to go by Pittſburgh with the advertiſement; it was two days after the letters had been circulated in the other counties, before he arrived at Waſhington town, ſo that he had not ſo early an opportunity of communicating information as I had, and the news-paper circulating ſlowly, the people ſouth of the Monongahela not having encouragement for giving new aſſurances, neglected the opportunity of the muſters,

though many of them had ſigned in their reſpective townſhips before the Parkiſon ferry meeting.

On the 24th of October, the meeting convened; great indeed was the difference between the complexion of this meeting, and that which met at the ſame place on the 14th of Auguſt preceding, and this difference was in a great meaſure owing to a few men. Bradford, Fulton, Parkiſon, Marſhal, and others, who had contrived and promoted the meeting at Braddock's field, had either ſecured an amneſty by ſubmitting in due time, or fled out of the country, and others who, perhaps, had done neither, were aſhamed to appear at this meeting, though the terror of them and their friends had overawed the firſt; and a great number of reſpectable citizens attended at this meeting, who did not think it prudent to countenance the firſt. The citizens did not act here as delegates, nor produce credentials, and the greateſt harmony and good order prevailed. James Edgar was appointed chairman, and Albert Gallatin ſecretary.

When the meeting was opened Mr. Redick and I gave an account of the diſcharge of our truſt at Carliſle, and ſtated the propriety of giving more unequivocal aſſurances than had yet been obtained, and the encouragements given for doing ſo, as nearly in the Preſident's own words as we could expreſs them. We alſo ſtated the importance of preventing any headſtrong fooliſh people from irritating the army, if it advanced into the country, either by firing a gun at them, or any other conduct that might be conſtrued into a pretence by any in the army to break through the rules of diſcipline, &c. and in order to render them the more cautious, we

informed them that the ſame inflammatory ſpirit appeared to pervade ſome part of the army, that had ſo recently prevailed in this country. We alſo, according to the Preſident's inſtructions, aſſured thoſe who had ſheltered themſelves under the faith of government, that they would not be diſturbed, let their crimes be what they might, and that no advantage ſhould be taken of want of mere matter of form. We added ſuch other information, and made ſuch obſervations, as we thought ſuitable to the occaſion; but many obſervations were not neceſſary, the people were willing to do every thing that was judged proper, indeed if the ſame people had attended and voted at the firſt meeting that did at this, and if thoſe who governed the paſſions of that day, and were abſent from this meeting, had alſo been abſent from that, an army would not have been marched into the country. At this meeting, the following reſolutions were unanimouſly adopted:

1ſt. Reſolved, that in our opinion, the civil authority is now fully competent to enforce the laws and to puniſh both paſt and future offences, inasmuch, as the people at large are determined to ſupport every deſcription of civil officers in the legal diſcharge of their duty.

2d. Reſolved, that in our opinion, that all perſons who may be charged or ſuſpected of having committed any offence againſt the United States or the ſtate, during the late diſturbances, and who have not entitled themſelves to the benefits of the act of oblivion, ought immediately to ſurrender themſelves to the civil authority, in order to ſtand their trial, that if there be any ſuch perſons among us, they are ready to ſurrender

themſelves to the civil authority accordingly, and that we will unite in giving our aſſiſtance to bring to juſtice ſuch offenders as ſhall not ſurrender.

3d. Reſolved, that in our opinion, offices of inſpection may be immediately opened in the reſpective counties of this ſurvey, without any danger of violence being offered to any of the officers, and that the diſtillers are willing and ready to enter their ſtills.

4th. That William Findley, David Redick, Ephraim Douglaſs, and Thomas Morton, do wait on the Preſident with the forgoing reſolutions.

That theſe reſolutions were unequivocal was not only teſtified by the unanimity of the vote, but by the papers that had been ſigned by the people at the muſters, and otherwiſe. The citizens ſouth of Monongahela, who had not had the opportunity of ſigning at the muſters, expreſſed great regret that they had not known in time that ſuch a meaſure would have been acceptable, and aſſured the meeting, that thoſe who had not yet ſigned aſſurances would do it without delay. Aſſurances ſigned by a number of them, a few days after that appointed by the commiſſioners, had been preſented to the Preſident at Carliſle.

The four commiſſioners appointed to carry the aſſurances to the Preſident, could not do it without ſome delay, as they reſided in the four different counties, and when they met together at Greenſburgh, they were informed that the Preſident had returned to Philadelphia, and that the army was on its march from Bedford and fort Cumberland to the Weſtern counties; we therefore concluded to halt, till the army would advance, and to preſent the aſſurances to the comman-

der in chief, but as ſecretary Hamilton was with the left wing of the army, and as we believed that he would influence whatever meaſures might be adopted in conſequence of the aſſurances we had to preſent, we waited ſome days for his arrival at Bonnet's camp, in the ſouthern extremity of Weſtmoreland county, and preſented them firſt to him, who when he had examined them, returned them to us, after telling us, that for the ſake of decorum, it would be beſt to preſent them to the commander in chief. This was what we intended to have done.

The next day we arrived at Union town, in Fayette county, where the head quarters then were, and preſented the aſſurances to the commander in chief, who ſent for the other general officers, and he and they treated us with civility. The commander appointed us to wait on him the next morning. Secretary Hamilton arrived at Union town the ſame evening, and the main body of the left wing of the army arrived at Union Town, the ſame day.

The next morning, ſome hours later than the time appointed, the commander in chief preſented us with an addreſs to the people, in anſwer to their aſſurances.

We had, in converſation with him on the preceding evening, ſtated ſubſtantially, though much more conciſely, the ſame reaſons, for our confidence that the people would ſubmit to the laws and protect the officers, as we had done to the Preſident, with this difference however, that being better informed, our confidence was more perfect. We admitted indeed, that it was true, that ſome of the ignorant people in ſome

places believed the falſehoods that had been propagated, and did not believe that the army was approaching, until they were on their march. One of our number admitted, that ſome young headſtrong boys, who had got arms in their hands, were not willing to give aſſurances of ſubmiſſion, until they were convinced that the army was approaching, and that with them theſe fears might have been a prevailing motive to ſubmiſſion, but we denied that this was the general principle of ſubmiſſion, and aſſured him that the ſubmiſſion had been very general before it was known that the army would march, that it was from a conviction of this, that men of the beſt diſcernment, who had an opportunity of learning the ſentiments, and obſerving the temper of the people, at the courts which had been held in all the counties, called the meeting at Parkiſon's ferry, who adopted the reſolutions of ſubmiſſion that had been tranſmitted to the Preſident at Carliſle. That this conviction was obtained, and a call of the Parkiſon meeting delegates agreed on, as early as the report of the commiſſioners to the Preſident, on which the orders to march were founded, was made. That this change of temper was founded on a general conviction, that it was their own intereſt to have the laws ſupported, and was promoted by the induſtry of thoſe citizens who had been always well diſpoſed, but who had lay by during the height of the diſturbances, till they were convinced of the neceſſity of ſtanding forward for the reſtoration of order, and entertained hopes that reaſon and argument would be attended to. We aſſured him alſo that thoſe who had taken a lead in diſturbances, had either ſubmitted in time to ſecure themſelves

under the amneſty, or were fled, and that conſequently the ignorant and obſtinate, who had oppoſed ſubmiſſion to the laſt, finding themſelves forſaken by all in whom they had confidence, would have no encouragement to be troubleſome for the future, and that their confidence in each other would be ſo deſtroyed as to leave no ground for ſuſpecting their being able to form any new dangerous combinations. Notwithſtanding that we aſſigned theſe and other ſuch reaſons as grounds of confidence in the reality of the people's ſubmiſſion, the commander in chief in his addreſs to the inhabitants of that country through us, did not acknowledge that we had aſſigned any other reaſon, but the panic occaſioned by the advance of the army. When we objected to this ſtatement, and alleged that we had candidly given other and more ſubſtantial reaſons, and that this reaſon would apply to only a few of the moſt ignorant and obſtinate, he ſtruck out the words which fixed this charge on all the people, and interlined, *the lower order of the people*, words which we had never ſpoken; for though we mentioned a difference of character, we had not thought of a diſtinction of orders in ſociety. We have few ſlaves and no nobles.

Near the concluſion of the addreſs, he recommends it to thoſe ſocieties, who had poiſoned the minds of the people with falſehoods, to continue with their uſual formalities, to counteract the falſehoods they had circulated, and that thereby, they would make ſome atonements for the miſchief they had done; we returned it to him again, and requeſted to know to what meetings he alluded. He anſwered, that it was the Par-

kiſon meetings, and ſuch as them. We replied, that the Parkiſon meetings and others of that kind, were held for the expreſs purpoſe of reſtoring order, that the firſt Parkiſon meeting, in a great meaſure put a ſtop to the outrages, and that the ſubſequent meetings, had completed the reſtoration of ſubmiſſion to the laws, but he ſeemed not to underſtand the diſtinction between thoſe and other meetings. The denunciation of ſelf created ſocieties however, that ſoon followed, indicated that his adviſers had other meetings in view. Indeed from his underſtanding ſo little of the ſubject of his own addreſs, and diſcovering ſo little candour in it, we ſuſpected, at the time, that it did not originate with himſelf. When we withdrew, it was propoſed to accompany the publication of it in the newspapers with remarks, containing a candid ſtatement of the reaſons we had aſſigned for the confidence that might be placed in the aſſurances of ſubmiſſion, which we had preſented; but on conferring together, we agreed rather to ſubmit to an uncandid ſtatement of our own conduct, which was evidently calculated to give the beſt diſpoſed people in the country juſt cauſe of offence againſt us, than to do any thing that might give the army a pretence for irritation, we plainly diſcovered that the addreſs was calculated to give a bad impreſſion of us to the people, and of the people to the army, and the world. It was alſo calculated to afford reaſons for continuing the army longer in the country, and convinced us that thoſe, who then gave the ſupreme direction to the proceedings, did not deſign to pay much reſpect to the unequivocal aſſurances, which the Preſident ſeemed ſolicitous that we ſhould

procure. Indeed though we were treated politely in other reſpects, and employed to aſſiſt in fixing the prices of neceſſaries for the army, and conſulted about the ground on which it ſhould encamp, when it advanced further into the country ; yet we did not meet with that candour and frankneſs, with which we had been treated by the Preſident at Carliſle. On reading ſome of the preceding Chapters, it will occur to the reader that either governor Lee was not the author of the addreſs he preſented to us, or that he did not underſtand the ſubject, when he aſcribed the circulating of falſehoods, to poiſon the minds of the people, to the meetings held at Parkiſon's Ferry.

CHAP. XVI.

THE firſt orders, that appear to have been executed under the authority of the federal judge, were at Bedford, from whence the four men mentioned already were eſcorted to Philadelphia under a military guard. As far as it was in the power of the parties employed to eſcort them, theſe priſoners were treated with propriety.

Some few were taken without legal orders, when the army entered the weſtern counties, but were ſoon diſmiſſed. One of theſe had ſigned aſſurances in due time; but no general attempt was made to take priſoners, until the army had encamped a conſiderable time in the vicinity of Monongahela, and were apparently preparing to return home; arrangements were then made to have the priſoners taken in all the different parts of the country, on the 13th of November. For

this purpoſe, different detachments were deſtined to various routs, who in moſt inſtances ſecured thoſe that they had orders to apprehend. The orders were executed with promptitude and addreſs, but not with equal humanity by all the parties.

To drag men unexpectedly and unprepared, from their wives and children, from bed time till morning, is an exertion that ſhocks humanity, and yet in ſome imperious caſes the intereſts of humanity require that it ſhould be done. When it becomes expedient to make priſoners of bold and intrepid men, accuſtomed to danger, it is neceſſary, in order to prevent bloodſhed, to take them by ſurpriſe; nor is this the leſs expedient when they happen to be innocent, for in that caſe, they might be diſpoſed to make the more deſperate defence; and every thing that would lead to a conteſt, was to be avoided on this occaſion with peculiar care, as it was apprehended that ſome inflammatory ſpirits in the army wiſhed for a plauſible pretext to burſt the bonds of diſcipline, and ſatiate their vengeance on a defenceleſs country.

Though it appeared, in the reſult, that but a ſmall proportion of thoſe that were taken in this manner had done any thing for which they could be puniſhed, yet thoſe who were employed to take them, had no right to examine, or diſcriminate between the innocent and the guilty. But though the rigid duty muſt be performed, no man of honour or humanity would add inſult or cruelty to unavoidable ſeverity. I rejoice at having it in my power to ſtate that, in moſt inſtances, care was taken to employ men of character and diſcretion in taking priſoners.

Captain Dunlap of Philadelphia, and his company, were ſent to Muddy creek in the upper end of Waſhington county, they took colonel Crawford and ſon, Mr. Sedgwick, a juſtice of the peace, Mr. Corbly, a clergyman of the Baptiſt perſuaſion, and others. They were taken early in the morning, and had no opportunity of making reſiſtance. Captain Dunlap and his party, while they behaved with the greateſt dexterity in taking the priſoners, treated them with as much politeneſs and attention as their ſituation would admit of, and engaged their gratitude by accompanying unavoidable ſeverity with humanity.

Theſe priſoners aſſert, that they had not the opportunity of ſigning the terms of the commiſſioners until the appointed day was paſt. They were admitted to bail, after ſeveral months impriſonment, and though two of thoſe perſons were reported to have been a good deal inflammatory, there was no bill found againſt any of them on their trial. They were not engaged in the outrages againſt exciſe officers, or at the rendezvous at Braddock's field. I cannot find that Sedgwick, the juſtice of the peace, had done any thing to lay a foundation even for ſuſpicion. Crawford, the younger, had been one of the armed party, who appeared at the Redſtone meeting with a deſign to puniſh Jackſon, but he was diſmiſſed at Pittſburgh.

General Irwin had been ordered to march to the neighbourhood of Pittſburgh with a diviſion of the army, and was directed to take a number of the citizens of Pittſburgh priſoners on the ſame night on which the general ſeizure was made. It appears that two

liſts were deſigned for him, but one * only was delivered, without any diſtinction made in it between criminals and witneſſes, or any diſcretionary power of diſcrimination intruſted to him. The liſt contained the names of eighteen citizens of Pittſburgh, of whom one perſon, on receiving ſome private hint of the deſign, delivered himſelf up to the judiciary, then ſitting in his own houſe. The general, it has been ſaid, was inſtructed to ſtrike two other perſons out of the liſt.

Thus, agreeably to orders, a number of citizens were dragged out of their beds in the night, and marched to the camp, with ſcarce ſufficient time to put on their neceſſary cloathing. The camp affording no better accomodations, they were obliged to lay that night on the wet earth, under ſnow and rain, and to add to their miſery they complain that they were barbarouſly inſulted by ſome of thoſe, by whom they were taken, and alſo by ſome of the guards in the camp. Next day they were empounded in a waſte houſe, where they were detained for ſeveral days; no better lodging could be procured in the camp. Whatever inſults, they may have received, were contrary to the orders of the general.

On the repreſentation of general Irwin, they were removed from the camp to the garriſon, and put under the direction of colonel Butler; they were then confined in a new houſe, without fire, for five days more. So many priſoners, from various parts, were then con-

* This liſt is publiſhed at length in Mr. Brackenridge's incidents; but general Irwin does not know how it was procured, and ſays, that he had no means of diſtinguiſhing between criminals and witneſſes.

fined in Pittſburgh, that proper accomodations could not be procured.

When the time arrived, that they were to appear before the judiciary, though the priſoners were in the cuſtody of the officer of the garriſon, general Irwin was called on, perhaps in compliment to his rank, to iſſue orders for releaſing them individually from the garriſon in courſe as they were demanded by the judiciary. It was by the call of the judiciary for their appearance, that he, to his ſurpriſe, firſt diſcovered that a number of thoſe whom according to orders he had taken and treated as criminals, were only called on as witneſſes; but how much greater muſt his ſurpriſe have been, if he had known that a number of them had ſigned the amneſty in due time, and conſequently were ſo ſheltered under the faith of government, that according to the Preſident's declaration at Carliſle, they were not to have been diſturbed, let their crimes have been ever ſo great.

I confeſs, when in Philadelphia, I found ſome in the priſon who had ſigned the amneſty, and was informed of the treatment others received on this occaſion at Pittſburgh, I regretted that I had been an inſtrument in encouraging thoſe who had done ſo, to exerciſe unlimited confidence in the faith of government, and on that ground, I demanded the releaſe of a priſoner of that deſcription, from the attorney of the diſtrict and the attorney general, and he was admitted to bail, but had to appear at the court as a witneſs; an apprehenſion that ſomething of this kind would happen, was one reaſon which induced me to ſuggeſt twice to the Preſident at Carliſle the importance of his croſſing the

mountains with the army, and I am ſtill perſuaded, that if he could have done ſo, ſuch miſtakes would not have been ſo numerous.

The agonizing diſtreſs of thoſe citizens and their families, who were made the victims of, perhaps, private reſentments, on this occaſion, can be more eaſily conceived than expreſſed. The conſternation of others, when they obſerved the innocent, thoſe who had ſigned the amneſty, witneſſes and criminals, treated with ſuch undiſtinguiſhing ſeverity, was inexpreſſible. They juſtly apprehended, that no man was ſafe, let his conduct have been ever ſo innocent, or his aſſurance of protection from government ever ſo great, if thoſe who influenced the judiciary had enmity againſt them.

I have already ſtated that many of them had ſigned the amneſty, others had refuſed to ſign from the pride of innocence, or an averſion to an implied acknowledgement of guilt. A number of them were men of unimpeachable behaviour through the whole period of the inſurrection. Though there had been a good deal of heat and irritation among the moſt ignorant claſs of people at Pittſburgh, yet there was no higher crime committed, even by them, than erecting a liberty pole, but a proportion of the priſoners were not of that claſs, one of them was a reſpectable and well behaved magiſtrate of the Town.

A captain, with a detachment of the army who took a number of priſoners in the ſouthern parts of Waſhington, is aſſerted to have driven the priſoners under his care, like cattle at a trot, through muddy roads, and through creeks up to their middle in water, and to have empounded them in a wet ſtable at night, and

otherwiſe to have maltreated and inſulted them; though this fact has been confidently aſſerted, and never contradicted, yet not having vouchers for it before me, I ſhall paſs it over without being more particular.

The greateſt outrage, however, againſt humanity and decency was committed by general White in the Mingo-Creek ſettlement.

It is ſaid that he had been ſolicitous to have the command of the New-Jerſey militia on the weſtern expedition, but that from an apprehenſion of the peculiarity of his temper rendering him unfit for ſuch a truſt, arrangements were made that prevented him from attaining that rank; but being determined to be employed in the expedition, and holding the rank of brigadier general in the militia, he marched to Carliſle with the light-horſe volunteers and after a part of them were incorporated with the legion, he continued to command the Jerſey light-horſe until the return of the army; when governor Howell taking the horſe, all but a very ſmall corps, which he left with general White, he gladly accepted of the charge of taking down the priſoners, after that truſt had been ſolicitiouſly declined by others. Governor Howell returned with the horſe by the way of Northumberland, and behaved in ſuch a manner as to do honour to himſelf, and the corps he commanded, both in the weſtern country and on the return. Though there ſeemed to be a general conviction, that general White was not poſſeſſed of ſufficient diſcretion to be intruſted with the delicate charge of arreſting

priſoners, yet by ſome means, I never could learn, from any officer of whom I have had an opportunity of enquiring, how, he was intruſted to ſuperintend the taking of priſoners in Mingo Creek ſettlement, on the 13th of November, before mentioned, which, from his conduct, more than that of any other officers in that country, was known by the name of the *dreadful night*. I ſhall ſtate his conduct, on that occaſion, nearly in the words, by which it is expreſſed in a voucher now before me.

On Thurſday, the 13th November, there were about forty perſons brought to Parkiſon's houſe by order of general White; he directed to put the damned raſcals in the cellar, to tie them back to back, to make a fire for the guard, but to put the priſoners back to the farther end of the cellar, and to give them neither victuals nor drink. The cellar was wet and muddy, and the night cold; the cellar extended the whole length; under a large new log houſe, which was neither floored, nor the openings between the logs daubed. They were kept there until Saturday morning, and then marched to the town of Waſhington. On the march, one of the priſoners who was ſubject to convulſions, fell into a fit: but when ſome of the troop told general White of his ſituation, he ordered them to tie the damned raſcal to a horſe's tail, and drag him along with them, for he had only feigned having the fits. Some of his fellow priſoners, however, who had a horſe, diſmounted, and let the poor man ride: he had another fit before he reached Waſhington. This march was about twelve miles. The poor man, who had the fits,

had been in the American ſervice, during almoſt the whole of the war with Great Britain.

Having heard much about this inhuman buſineſs, and having occaſion laſt ſummer to go to Waſhington, I travelled that road for the firſt time that I had ever been in that ſettlement, and lodged a night at the place. The plantation is the property of Benjamin Parkiſon, but rented by him to a Mr. Stockdale, who keeps tavern at it, and who ſeems to be a decent man, and one againſt whom there was no charge. He not only confirmed what I have ſtated above, but added a variety of other particulars equally ſhocking. Stockdale was forbid on the peril of his life to adminiſter any comfort to his neighbours, though they were periſhing with cold and famiſhing with hunger. The general treated the priſoners, as they arrived, with the moſt inſulting and abuſive language, cauſing them all to be tied back to back, except one man, who held a reſpectable rank, and who however was ſaid to be one of the moſt guilty in his cuſtody. One of the neareſt neighbours, who had a child at the point of dying, and obſerving that they were bringing in the whole neighbourhood priſoners, without regard to guilt or innocence, went and gave himſelf up to general White, expecting that as he was conſcious there was no charge againſt him, he would be permitted to return to his family on giving bail, but he alſo was inhumanly thrown into the cellar, tied with the reſt, and refuſed the privilege of ſeeing his dying child; nor was he permitted to attend its funeral, until after many entreaties he obtained that liberty, accompanied with the moſt horrid oaths and imprecations.

The moſt of theſe priſoners were found to be innocent men and were liberated. There were but, three ſent to Philadelphia for trial; one of them after having been diſmiſſed at Pittſburgh, and perhaps having taken a hearty grog, through joy at regaining his liberty expreſſed himſelf unbecomingly to ſome of the light horſe men. He was afterwards purſued near thirty miles, and taken to Philadelphia, but there was no cauſe of action found againſt him at the court. He had ſerved with approbation in the army during the war; his name was Samuel Noy.

Whether general White had a liſt given him by the judiciary or not, I have not been informed, but he certainly had no orders to torture them with hunger, cold, and inſults. Capt. Dunlap had a diſcrimination made in his orders between witneſſes and ſuppoſed criminals, and treated them all with humanity, and had them comfortably lodged, and provided with victuals and drink, previous to his taking refreſhments himſelf. By the orders given to general Irwin, he was obliged to take and treat all as criminals, but he did not inſult any of them himſelf, nor permit them to be inſulted by others in his hearing, and he provided for them as well as the camp would permit, and that being a very uncomfortable ſituation, he had them removed from it as ſoon as he could. That they were innocent perſons, had ſheltered themſelves under the faith of government, or were only called as witneſſes, was not known to the general, till it was diſcovered in the reſult; but general White was himſelf the leading or perhaps the only man; of his corps, who inſulted the priſoners with the moſt approbrious language, and pu-

niſhed them in the moſt ſhocking manner, ſhort of inflicting death. It is an approved maxim, that every man ſhould be treated as innocent till found guilty. An adherence to that ſalutary maxim was never more neceſſary than on this occaſion, for the preſumption was that every man who was conſcious of guilt had either ſigned the amneſty or fled, having had ſo favourable an opportunity to provide for their ſafety by flight, and in the iſſue it became evident that they had availed themſelves of one or other of thoſe modes of eſcape, with very few exceptions. This was in fact the caſe with moſt of thoſe taken by general White, and of all that were taken by the different parties, on that *dreadful night*, as it is ſtill called. Only eighteen were ſent to Philadelphia, and none of theſe were convicted on trial. Two or three of them, however, might probably have been found guilty on a charge of miſdemeanour, but the charge on which they were tried being *treaſon*, two witneſſes were neceſſary to prove the ſame fact, and this requiſition could not be complied with.

When the facts had been fully examined in the court, it was the opinion of ſome of the moſt able lawyers that there was no treaſon in the caſe. Though as it happened that they were not convicted, the charge of treaſon was moſt favourable to the priſoners that had been guilty of miſdemeanours.

As the army returned through Weſtmoreland, two priſoners were taken in the ſouthern extremity of that county, and one in the neighbouring parts of Fayette county. They were taken to Philadelphia, the laſt had been in Kentucky during the inſurrection, and did not return till after the riots had ceaſed. Iſaac Meaſon, a

judge of Fayette county, followed judge Peters near forty miles into Bedford county, and offered himself and judge Wells of Bedford county, both of them acknowledged friends of government, as bail for the prisoner, but was absolutely refused. As Mr. Meason knew that the prisoner was guilty of no crime, which evidently appeared to be the case by no bill being found against him on his trial, he and Mr. Wells complain of the judge for not admitting him to bail on their application. Judge Peters, being well known to be a man of feeling and humanity, his conduct in this and several other instances can only be accounted for from his apprehension, that it was necessary that a considerable number of prisoners should be brought down, in order to prevent the inflammatory part of the army from committing outrages at leaving the country. His mind was tortured at being obliged to bring down so many prisoners, and his peace was disturbed by being teased for dismissing such numbers of them.

One of the two prisoners taken from Westmoreland was found guilty of letting fire to the house of Wells, the collector, and condemned to be hanged; but was afterwards reprieved, and then pardoned by the President of the United States. He is a very ignorant man, said to be of an outrageous temper, and subject to occasional fits of insanity. The principal witness against him was a person, who is said to have been the principal leader in the riot, but he was pardoned by the commander in chief; the other was a young man, who had come lately from Maryland, and had no family or friends in the country. No bill was found against him on trial.

I have mentioned before, that four priſoners were ſent from Bedford, as the army advanced; one of them, Herman Huſbands, was a very old man, extenſively known on account of ſome ſingularities in his character. After ſuffering four months impriſonment, no cauſe of action was found againſt him, but though he was liberated, with others by the court, his conſtitution had received ſuch a ſhock that he died before he left the city. Another of them, Mr. Filſon, who kept a large ſtore thirty miles above Bedford, was refuſed to be admitted to bail, though this favour was warmly ſolicited by ſeveral reputable merchants in Philadelpia. The proſecution againſt him was conducted with unuſal ſeverity; being firſt acquitted on a charge of treaſon, he was tried for a miſdemeanour, and in this the verdict alſo was, *not guilty*. He is now a member of aſſembly for Bedford county.

Of the two others taken near Bedford, one was an old inoffenſive German, named Wiſegarver; he was taken to Philadelphia, and after being impriſoned four months he was admitted to bail, and no bill was found againſt him at court. The other, whoſe name is Lucas, had been a ſergeant in the army in the time of the war, and was well known at the time of the revolt of the Pennſylvania line; and though he was one of the leaders of that revolt, yet in that ſituation he rendered ſuch eſſential ſervices to the public as to have a ſpecial reward aſſigned to him. After near four months impriſonment, he was admitted to bail on the interceſſion of a general officer, who was well acquainted with his ſervices. When he attended the court to ſtand his trial nothing was found againſt him. He

has a numerous family of ſmall children, and like too many, who ſerved in the late war, he is poor.

No crimes had been committed in Bedford county of a more outrageous nature, than erecting ſome liberty poles, except an attempt on Webſter, collector of exciſe; this, however, being conducted with greater mildneſs than other inſtances of the kind, and he having provoked it by tranſgreſſing the law himſelf, no perſon was proſecuted for it. The greateſt number of thoſe concerned were from Weſtmoreland. Huſbands and Filſon had attended the firſt meeting at Parkiſon's ferry; as no riots had taken place in the ſettlement in which they lived, this was probably conſtrued to indicate a bad deſign, but they did not propoſe any thing at the meeting that was offenſive. Wiſegarver and Lucas had only been preſent or aſſiſted at erecting a liberty pole in the town of Bedford, with a mixed multitude of others. I have already mentioned the bad effect, which the erecting of liberty poles had in encouraging the inſurgents, yet the act of erecting them was no further criminal, than the correſpondent conduct expreſſed a ſeditious deſign.

A certain John Mitchel who, with the aſſiſtance of another perſon, had robbed the Pittſburgh mail, gave himſelf up to general Morgan, after the judiciary had left the country. This man's evident ſimplicity induced the general to wiſh him to eſcape, and to diſcredit his being the perſon; but Mitchel inſiſting that he was one of the perſons who robbed the mail, the general, inſtead of confining him, gave him a paſs to go to Philadelphia, thereby putting it in his power to reflect on his ſituation, and make his eſcape; but he

went to Philadelphia, ſurrendered himſelf to be committed, and being found guilty on his trial, he was condemned to be hanged. This reſult was unavoidable on the fact being eſtabliſhed; but the Preſident, with great propriety, firſt reprieved for a time, and then pardoned him.

Thus an oppoſition to an exciſe ſyſtem, which began with only clandeſtine attacks on ſome of the officers, and which, by the timely attention of thoſe intruſted with the execution of the law, might eaſily have been checked, the revenues ſecured, the peace of the country preſerved, and the credit of a republican government ſaved, was, by inattention or deſign, treated with neglect, or tampered with in a manner, that was more cenſurable than neglect, until it produced ſuch an effect on the folly and prejudices of the people in a ſmall part of a diſtrict, or rather a ſmall part of a county, as, aided by the diſtraction or wickedneſs of a few others, broke ſuddenly out into ſuch alarming diſorders as agitated the whole United States, and occaſioned the levying and marching of one of the beſt provided, moſt formidable, and in ſome reſpects, the moſt reſpectable army that ever marched under the banners of the United States; and yet the whole of this ſtupendous ſcene was wound up, without any perſon being killed, except in the attack on the inſpector's houſe at the commencement of the inſurrection, and the two men who were, perhaps, too wantonly killed by ſome of the army, before there had been an opportunity of introducing diſcipline into it. Several, however, died by ſickneſs, eſpecially in the left wing of the army.

When the judiciary had finiſhed the examinations, and made a ſelection of thoſe who were to be ſent to Philadelphia, the army returned with rapid marches to the different counties from whence they were draughted, or had turned out volunteers. The quickneſs of their march prevented even the moſt diſorderly corps from injuring the ſettlements ſo much as was apprehended, though it is certain ſeveral families, near where they encamped, did ſuſtain conſiderable damages, chiefly occaſioned by the troops in the rear. Aſſurances were given by ſecretary Hamilton, that the damages ſhould be paid on their preſenting appraiſements to Congreſs. The appraiſements were made out, and given to the proper officers, but have not been preſented to Congreſs, nor otherwiſe provided for.

CHAP. XVII.

THE ſituation and circumſtances were not convenient for deliberate and impartial examination. The multitude of informations, and declarations of aſſurances, neceſſary to be peruſed, and the panic and embarraſſment of witneſſes, who were interrogated in a manner at the point of the bayonet, many of whom were more guilty than thoſe againſt whom they gave teſtimony, and the unavoidable confuſions of a camp rendered it very difficult for the civil magiſtrate to conduct the buſineſs with preciſion. Such witneſſes were inevitably influenced by a ſenſe of their own danger, and the hopes of obtaining pardon from the commander in chief; for the pardon from the commander was not irrevocably ſecured, before the expectant had given his teſtimony, and in ſome inſtances, fear was added to hope, to draw from the witneſſes ſuch teſtimony, as was thought beſt calculated to ſecure the object they had in view. Perſons who had been ill-

treated by the insurgents, and who of course were too much under the influence of resentment to give impartial testimony, were also interrogated as witnesses. Their testimony was doubtless admissible in law, though not entitled to such credit, as if they had been disinterested. In consequence of those untoward circumstances, it happened that in many instances the testimony was inconsistent or directly contradictory. Where this was evidently the case, the judge set both aside.

After a full investigation of the whole business it appears that a very small proportion of those who had been guilty suffered imprisonment. Those who had been most influential in opposition to the laws, had either complied with the terms of the commissioners, or, had fled when they found the army was approaching. Indeed many had fled who were guilty of no crime, but were so ill informed as to apprehend that their declining to sign the declaration of assurances would be construed into one. No attempt having been made to arrest or disturb any person all the time the army lay in the country, till it was apparently preparing to return, and the few that had been apprehended being dismissed, emboldened some who had fled or concealed themselves to return, and appear in public again, no doubt concluding that the assurances they had signed after the day appointed by the commissioners had been accepted as evidence of their repentance. This circumstance put many in the way of being taken, who would have escaped if the orders had been issued soon after the arrival of the army, but with-

al, there was not a ſingle perſon ſent to Philadelphia, who had been an influential leader in any of the outrages; ſeveral however were in cuſtody and diſmiſſed, who are declared to have been much more guilty than moſt of thoſe that were detained I have already ſaid that ſeveral were taken down priſoners who were innocent, and ſome of them meritorious. Some circumſtances that influenced this irregular diſtribution of juſtice naturally aroſe from the ſituation of the buſineſs; others will be accounted for in the ſequel.

The commander in chief was authorized to exonerate thoſe who gave ſuch evidences of their repentance as were ſatisfactory to himſelf, as well as thoſe who had agreed to the terms propoſed by the commiſſioners; conſequently thoſe who had the greateſt addreſs or the moſt influential friends would of courſe obtain an amneſty, whilſt the baſhful, the ignorant, and the friendleſs were neceſſarily left to be the ſubjects for atonement. In this caſe the interceſſion of the exciſe officers who were the parties injured could not fail of ſucceſs; I wiſh I could ſay that their private reſentments had not been influential alſo. Theſe evils aroſe naturally out of the ſtate of things. There are no complaints of governor Lee having been inexorable or inhumane, but he had no rule to direct his judgment as to the manifeſtations of repentance, but the repreſentations of thoſe in whom he had confidence, and thoſe repreſentations were often unavoidably influenced by favouritiſm or reſentment.

Comparatively few indeed were tranſported to Philadelphia for trial, and it was a hardſhip that moſt

of theſe few were innocent, and that others were diſmiſſed who had been more influential in the riots than any of thoſe who were brought to trial. I do not complain that many guilty perſons were pardoned, nor do I call in queſtion their repentance. I believe there were few, if any, but what had given every evidence of repentance that was required before the army croſſed the mountains, unleſs giving teſtimony liberally againſt others was ſometimes conſidered as an evidence of repentance.

From theſe circumſtances it is evident that the judge of the diſtrict had an arduous taſk to perform. The ſelection of proper characters for making atonement was rendered difficult by the exerciſe of the pardoning power of the commander, which in numerous inſtances interfered with the opinion of the judge. The commander not being bound by ſtrict rules of law in the exerciſe of his diſcretion, and the judge, and attorney, conceiving that they were authoriſed only to act according to ſuch rules, contributed to the reſult I have mentioned; but there were other cauſes.

When ſo great a number of thoſe who had been taken priſoners by the detachments were releaſed, many of the army became clamorous againſt the judge, and complained of having marched ſo far, ſuffered ſo many hardſhips, and taken ſo many priſoners, and that after all, theſe priſoners were likely to be diſmiſſed without atonements being made; on the diſcovery of ſo much hot blood in the army, the judge became afraid that it might mutiny, and take indiſcriminate vengeance on the country, and juſtly conſidered ſuch an event to be the greateſt of all poſſible evils, not only to the

weſtern counties, but to the government of the United States. In this dilemma he thought it was adviſable to take down a greater number of priſoners than he otherwiſe would, and conſequently conceived himſelf under the neceſſity of taking ſome who were innocent, or at leaſt ſuch as againſt whom there were no ſtrong preſumptions of guilt, truſting that the neceſſity of the caſe would juſtify the meaſure. He alſo conſidered himſelf as juſtified in law in committing ſuch as had been preſent at, or members of, ſuch meetings, as might from any ſpecial circumſtances be deemed treaſonable or ſeditious, and this conſtruction was given not only to the riotous aſſemblies which committed outrages, and ſuch as erected liberty poles, but even to the Parkiſon's meetings, &c; for though the intention, of the great majority of thoſe who were members of thoſe meetings was to reſtore order, and though they had in every inſtance been conſiderably ſucceſsful, and were in the iſſue completely ſo, yet the firſt appointment, as it grew out of the attack on the houſe of the Inſpector, was conſidered as criminal, and ſuch as were moſt influential in making that appointment had endeavoured at the firſt Parkiſon's meeting to promote meaſures for conſolidating the oppoſition to government, ſupported by theſe reaſons. The diſtrict attorney in the charge, which he exhibited at Philadelphia againſt the priſoners, exhibited the attendance on theſe meetings among the acts of treaſon which had been committed.

This charge of treaſon againſt the meetings at Parkiſon's, was poſſibly calculated to be an apology for having brought down priſoners, againſt whom no other

offence was alleged. It was acknowledged by the diſtrict judge and attorney, that a large proportion of thoſe, who not only attended at theſe meetings, but even at the Braddock's field rendezvous, which undoubtedly aſſumed the appearances of an inſurrection, were not only innocent, but meritorious perſons, and that it was not the aſſiſting at thoſe meetings, but the conduct when there, that ſhould determine the criminality of the priſoners. If, by attending thoſe meetings, a perſon became involved in criminality, the moſt deciſive and uſeful patriots in the weſtern country would have been liable to proſecution, as well as the moſt outrageous, but this rule of conduct was only purſued to a ſmall extent as to numbers, and perhaps would not have been purſued at all, but in complacence to the inflammatory part of the army.

I know this circumſtance is denied by a number who were in the army, and had a good opportunity of being acquainted with its prevailing temper; but it is ſuggeſted by the judge, and it may be reaſonably admitted that a few inflammatory characters teaſing the magiſtrate, and not only diſcovering their own ungovernable temper, but aſſerting that this temper was general in the army, was fully ſufficient to give ground for theſe apprehenſions. I have had occaſion ſeveral times to mention, that a few noiſy and reſtleſs ſpirits have it in their power, on particular occaſions, for a time, to fix the character of the whole maſs of either an army or a country; and this was undoubtedly the caſe with the army on this occaſion. The ſentiments of thoſe, who were virtuous enough not to attempt to influence the deciſions of the magiſtrate, were not known, as they

made no noiſe, while the inflammatory few, not only were ſo impertinent, as indirectly to interfere with the deciſions, but in ſome inſtances, with the examinations. There was but one general officer, who diſcovered a diſpoſition to promote diſorders, and his influence was ſmall.

I have ſaid that ſome were brought priſoners to Philadelphia, againſt whom there was no cauſe of action, and others, without having been examined. I have already aſſigned the reaſons why ſome were brought who were innocent. That any were brought without examination aroſe in part from other cauſes. Owing to the hurry and confuſion of the camp, the judge could not attend to the examination of them all himſelf; ſometimes the ſecretary of the treaſury examined, and decided himſelf; on other occaſions, the priſoners were examined by the diſtrict attorney, or by ſome of the ſtate judges. Thus through the multitude of examiners, ſome were committed without being examined at all. It has been alſo ſuggeſted that ſome perſons were ſent down in conſequence of the predetermination of the ſecretary of the treaſury; inſtances might be given if it was neceſſary, and ſome will be offered in the ſequel.

CHAP. XVIII.

PERHAPS the moſt myſterious circumſtance attending the weſtern expedition, was the character ſuſtained by the ſecretary of the treaſury. Frequent enquiries have been made from me, and I have often enquired of others, what ſtation he held, to which his reſponſibility was attached, but without any ſatisfactory anſwers. But as it was generally believed that he gave the ſupreme direction to the meaſures that were purſued, and as the praiſe of all that was laudable, and the blame of what was cenſurable, has been by a kind of tacit conſent aſcribed to him, it will, for want of better ſources of information, be neceſſary to examine ſuch inſtances of his paramount influence, in the previous plans and ſubſequent conduct of the expedition, as have tranſpired.

That he was the reſponſible head of the revenue department, and had the direction of the meaſures relative

to the execution of the exciſe law, is evident from the powers veſted in him by law for that purpoſe. That he originated not only the exciſe ſyſtem, and the other revenue laws, which were enacted by Congreſs, previous to the inſurrection, and the arrangements for carrying them into execution, is evident from the journals of Congreſs, and his own reports to the Houſe of Repreſentatives. The manner in which the coercive part of the exciſe law was executed, or rather, in which the execution of it was neglected, and the influence which that neglect had in promoting the oppoſition to the law, which finally burſt forth into an inſurrection, has been ſtated in Chap. VI.

That a government could never be conſidered as eſtabliſhed, till its power was put to the teſt by a trial of its military force, is a ſentiment that has been often aſcribed to him, and never that I heard of contradicted; and that in perfect correſpondence with their principle, he even in the cabinet expreſſed his ſorrow that the town of Pittſburgh had not been burned by thoſe who rendezvouſed at Braddock's field, that ſo a trial of the military force of the government might have been rendered the more neceſſary and juſtifiable, has been aſſerted by authority that cannot be reaſonably doubted. This aſſertion, which leaves no doubt of the principle from which it proceeded, perfectly coincides with the manner in which the exciſe law was executed in the weſtern counties, and fully accounts for not holding ſpecial ſeſſions of the court nearer the places where the crimes were committed, after a law had been made for that purpoſe, and may alſo without any forced induction account for iſſuing the proceſſes out

of the diſtrict court ſo early in the winter. When it was known that a law was about to be paſſed to veſt the ſtate courts with powers for that purpoſe, and alſo for delaying the execution of the proceſs, till ſo long after the ſtate courts were competent to decide on the caſe, and until the throng of harveſt, which is confeſſedly the moſt inconvenient ſeaſon in the year for farmers to attend at a diſtance of above 300 miles, and which, from other circumſtances, was the moſt likely to excite reſiſtance. It is worthy of remark that when the diſtillers of Fayette county, without delay, ſent to enter their appearance at Philadelphia, the writs were found to be erroneous, and therefore null. What a pity it was, that this had not been diſcovered before they had been made the inſtrument of promoting an inſurrection.

If all theſe circumſtances happened through inattention, that inattention was highly culpable; if they were the reſult of cool deſign, the connection of all the parts of the plan, and its eventual ſucceſs, while they afford a ſtriking evidence of dexterity and addreſs, repreſent the morality of the conductor in a very queſtionable point of view. The exertions made by ſome of his friends in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, about the ſame time, in the winter in which the irregular proceſſes were iſſued, which in the following harveſt produced the inſurrection, to have a law paſſed for raiſing an army of 25,000 men, and the evident indignation with which that plan was rejected by a decided majority of the Houſe, is well remembered. While this meaſure diſcovers a perfect correſpondence with the general conduct which led to the inſurrection,

the rejection of it gave a teſtimony that the Repreſentatives would not employ an army without a ſufficient cauſe. The burning of Pittſburgh, if it had happened, would have afforded an argument for ſuch an army as had been urged the preceding winter.

That when the outrages againſt the exciſe officers came to a violent height, the ſecretary ſhould report to the Preſident on the ſubject, was to have been expected, and that, when this report was to be publiſhed in the newspapers, as an addreſs to the citizens, to convince them of the neceſſity of turning out in ſupport of the government and laws, that the facts ſhould have been repreſented with pretty high colouring, was not at all ſurpriſing, but that that conduct which was lawful ſhould have been repreſented as criminal, and that charges ſhould have been inſinuated againſt the whole people of the weſtern counties which were not founded in fact, could not be juſtified on any honeſt principle. Theſe remarks will be better underſtood when I come to examine ſome parts of the report itſelf.

How the important duties and legal arrangements of the treaſury could admit of the head of the department to attend on the weſtern expedition to its furtheſt deſtination, is no part of my enquiry. While the Preſident was with the different wings of the army, the ſecretary accompanied him, and appeared to act as his official ſecretary. When I was at Carliſle, he took a part in the converſations between the Preſident and the commiſſioners from the weſtern counties, and behaved with propriety in them; he ſigned officially the Preſident's inſtructions to the commander in chief of the army.

When the President returned to Philadelphia, the secretary of the treasury remained, and marched with the right wing of the army, and on the march, and at the different encampments, in the Western country, was extremely attentive to the wants of the army, and was looked up to by many in it, as something more than even the commander in chief. The supero marque, which he accupied, and which was by far more extensive and elegant than that of the commander in chief on that expedition, or as the officers say, in the war with Great Britain, contributed to draw the attention of the army and of the country people to him, as a man of more than common authority.

In what character he assumed this superior state and influence, or to what extent he carried his authority, I have not been informed. It is well known, however, that orders were sometimes issued by him, and that he considered no officer in the army, as beyond his controul, though much of this authority was probably exercised through the instrumentality of others; some pretty high instances of this were not concealed. It is well known, that by his own authority, he wrote a severe reprimand for supposed misconduct to the commander in chief of the right wing of the army, in consequence of which, that officer was treated in a manner not becoming his rank; but it is of no importance to trace the character he assumed, or the authority he exercised, in the army; for to him has been ascribed, by some in the army, the measure of discipline that was preserved in it, and the regularity of the supplies they received; though this was undoubtedly ascribing too much to him, as a num-

ber of valuable officers occupied the various ſtations in the army. There is no doubt, however, but his attention and induſtry, were of great ſervice. It is the ſecretary's connection, however, with the judiciary, that is of the greateſt importance to examine. In this he was generally taken, or perhaps miſtaken to be, the principal director. To mention all the inſtances of the authority he exerciſed as a civil magiſtrate, would lead me beyond the intended compaſs of this work; a few inſtances ſhall only be ſelected.

The commander in chief had his quarters for ſome time at the houſe of major Powers, between Youghiogany and Monongahela rivers, and the quarters of the judiciary were at the next plantation. Major Powers had not only behaved well through the whole of the troubles, but had been zealouſly employed in endeavouring to reſtore order from an early period, till it was finally eſtabliſhed. He had been a member of ſeveral meetings for that purpoſe, and was one of the committee of twelve who ſettled the terms of amneſty with the commiſſioners at Pittſburgh, and took an active lead in his neighbourhood, in procuring a compliance with thoſe terms, his ſervices were acknowledged while head quarters were at his houſe, and he was paid a larger ſum than he demanded for his trouble and expences.

After the judiciary and part of the army had gone to the town of Waſhington, major Powers was invited by a polite letter, to wait on the ſecretary at that place, which was above thirty miles diſtant. When he arrived the ſecretary examined him about the conduct of certain characters, with ſome of whom he was not

even acquainted, but particularly about the conduct of Mr. Gallatin, at the meeting at Parkiſon's ferry, &c. On major Powers not anſwering to his ſatisfaction, he complained of the difficulty of obtaining information, and adviſed major Powers to retire an hour, to refreſh his memory, in order to be re-examined, and ſpoke to an officer preſent to conduct major Powers into another chamber; in all this, the ſecretary appeared to treat him politely, but he was not a little ſurpriſed when he found himſelf thruſt into a room among other priſoners, and there confined, under the point of the bayonet. This he thought an odd ſituation for cool recollection, if he had needed any. At the time appointed he was taken again into the preſence of the ſecretary, who aſked him if he had recollected himſelf ſo far as to give more ſatisfactory information; on being anſwered that he had nothing further to recollect, having already related all he knew, the ſecretary then ſuddenly aſſuming all his terrors, told major Powers that he was ſurpriſed at him, that having the character of an honeſt man, he would not tell the truth, aſſerting, that he had already proofs ſufficient of the truth of what he knew he could teſtify, if he would. After ſome further inſulting language and threats, major Powers was committed cloſe priſoner under a military guard; and though the moſt unexceptionable bail was offered for permiſſion to go to his family, it was refuſed, and he was marched under a military guard to Pittſburgh, and there detained till the eighth day after he was taken into cuſtody. The ſecretary being gone, the judge ſent for major Powers, and when he was brought into his preſence, invited

him politely to ſit down, aſſuring him that he had no charge at all againſt him.

It will appear in various other inſtances, that it was uſual with the ſecretary to aſſert to thoſe whom he was examining, that he was poſſeſſed of ſufficient proofs already of the facts to which he endeavoured to extort teſtimony. The ſpring following, major Powers was much diſpoſed to bring an action againſt the late ſecretary, for the treatment he had received. He thought this neceſſary for the vindication of the government, as well as to obtain ſatisfaction to himſelf, but finding that he would be obliged to go to New-York to proſecute, on the advice of his friends he relinquiſhed the deſign.

John Hamilton of Waſhington is high ſheriff of that county, and colonel of a regiment of militia, in the Mingo-Creek ſettlement; though a number of this regiment were known to have had an active hand in the attack on the inſpector's houſe, and were in fact conſidered as the greateſt promoters of the inſurrection, yet he not only kept himſelf free from thoſe outrages, but endeavoured, as ſoon as he heard of the deſign, to prevent the rendezvous at Braddock's field. It was he who informed Bradford that the arms and ammunition in the garriſon at Pittſburgh were deſigned for general Scot's expedition againſt the Indians, and with the aſſiſtance of ſome others perſuaded him to countermand the orders, and procured his promiſe to prevent the march. (See Chap. VIII.)

When he could not prevent the march to Braddock's field, he put himſelf at the head of his regiment, and was very inſtrumental in preventing further out-

rages from being committed. At the court that was held for the county of Waſhington, a ſhort time after the commiſſioners left the country, he propoſed to take any twenty of the leading inſurgents, and lodge them in the county jail, if writs were iſſued for that purpoſe; but it was not thought adviſeable to iſſue the writs, until it ſhould be known what meaſures the commiſſioners would recommend to the Preſident; and until the inflammation would be more effectually cooled down. The ſheriff however, to give teſtimony that he could have accompliſhed what he propoſed, executed every writ of *capias* that he had in his hands without difficulty. He attended all the meetings for reſtoring order with a view to prevent outrages. His being a friend to order, and living where he did, merited higher approbation, than if he had reſided where the citizens generally were leſs diſpoſed to riot.

Yet it has been aſſerted, that this man was by the predetermination of the ſecretary of the treaſury doomed to be ſacrificed as an atonement; to juſtify this determination by motives of humanity, the ſecretary ſuggeſted that colonel Hamilton had no family to lament his loſs; and as he underſtood he was a man of conſiderable influence in the country, he did not doubt but though it might be difficult to find proofs againſt him, he was as guilty as any of them.

Colonel Hamilton was informed by a friend of deſigns againſt him time enough to make his eſcape, but conſcious of his innocence he preferred travelling above thirty miles to where the judiciary then was, and preſenting himſelf to Judge Peters informed him that

he had heard there was a charge againſt him, and requeſted to have it examined. The judge ſaid he was then too much engaged, but would call on him preſently; that day, however, paſſed, till evening, when major Lenox, the marſhal, in the moſt delicate manner he could, told him he muſt put him under guard, but afterwards diſpenſed with arreſting him, and only took his promiſe that he would not depart till judge Peters would converſe with him; but the next day the marſhal informed him that he had ſpecial orders to put him under guard, which he did accordingly, though with evident regret. The ſheriff here remarks that major Lenox treated him with as much friendſhip and politeneſs as the nature of the caſe could poſſibly admit, and let me add that that officer's politeneſs is generally well ſpoken of.

On the third day after he demanded an examination, and the ſecond after he had been put under guard, he was ſent back to Waſhington town, from whence he had come, in cuſtody of a ſmall party of horſe. The judiciary having arrived at Waſhington, the ſheriff applied to judge Peters again to have his caſe examined, who told him he would in half an hour, but on the ninth day after he firſt applied to the judge, he was ſent cloſe priſoner to Pittſburgh, and from thence to Philadelphia, paraded through the ſtreets with an ignominous badge in his hat, and thrown into the cells without his caſe having ever been examined. After an impriſonment of near two months and a half, he had his caſe brought before the ſupreme court on a writ of *habeas corpus*, and on examination nothing being found againſt him, he was admitted to bail. At

the circuit court, held in Philadelphia, in June following, a bill for miſpriſon of treaſon was ſent to the grand jury againſt him, but every witneſs that was ſworn teſtified largely in his favour. There was not even a ſuſpicious circumſtance found againſt him.

Thus a man, who was at the time ſheriff of the county, and a colonel of militia, and who, in a part of the country, and in circumſtances where temporizing might have been excuſeable, was not only clear of any charge, but had merit, was ſelected by the ſecretary for a victim, and without being examined, illegally taken from the exerciſe of an office, at that time of importance to the peace of the country, and dragged down to Philadelphia in the winter, paraded in a barbarous manner through the ſtreets, thrown for ſome time into the cells, and though, after a long confinement admitted to bail, yet obliged to attend again at Philadelphia to ſtand a trial apparently becauſe the ſecretary of the treaſury had determined on his deſtruction. It is probable, that it was only motives of humanity that operated to prevent major Powers from being alſo ſent to Philadelphia, for he has a wife and family, and we are informed that the ſheriff of Waſhington, having no family to lament afterhim, was aſſigned by the ſecretary as one reaſon why he was ſelected as an object of atonement.

It is not eaſy to aſſign probable reaſons for ſelecting theſe two men as objects of vengeance. They had both been friends of order during the continuance of the diſturbances, though they were naturally quiet, and never had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in political conteſts, nor taken any lead in the diſcuſſion of pub-

lic meaſures. Perhaps the principal motive for treating major Powers with ſuch unjuſtifiable ſeverity, was to extort teſtimony from him, and to teach others what they might expect, if they did not give ſuch teſtimony againſt certain characters, as the ſecretary required. As colonel Hamilton was the ſheriff of the county, and colonel of the battalion, where the inſurrection originated, his rank and the relation he ſtood in to that county, were probably the reaſons of his being ſelected.

My firſt perſonal acquaintance with either Powers or Hamilton, was at the meetings for reſtoring order, on which occaſion their conduct was that of good citizens, and ſuch as entitled them to my eſteem. Hamilton was not a member of any of them, more than myſelf. I was much ſurpriſed, when I ſaw him in Philadelphia gaol, but eſpecially when I found that he had been committed without charge or examination.

When he was admitted to bail, he told me he was about to put a ſtatement of his caſe in the newſpapers, but I adviſed him not to do it at that time, alleging that with the means that were uſed to procure teſtimony againſt him, it was probable, that ſome plauſible charge might be produced on the trial, and that as ſome others were committed without examination, who were probably equally innocent, it was beſt to publiſh nothing till the final reſult of the trials would be known. This narrative is taken from colonel Hamilton's own ſtatement of the caſe, and from my own knowledge.

I have ſtated, that undue influence was uſed to procure teſtimony againſt certain individuals, and given an

inſtance of it in the caſe of major Powers; I will add another inſtance in relation to ſheriff Hamilton.

During the time ſheriff Hamilton, was waiting to have his caſe examined, and before he was put into cloſe confinement, a certain John Baldwin was under examination. He was interrogated alternately, by ſecretary Hamilton, judge Peters, the diſtrict attorney, the inſpector, and Mr. Vaughan, a light horſe man, from Philadelphia; the two laſt of whom treated him with the greateſt indecorum. In the courſe of the examination, every means were uſed to induce him to teſtify againſt the ſheriff. Baldwin had candidly informed them of himſelf being one of the committee at the burning of Nevil's houſe, and of the perſons concerned in that riot, &c. and aſſured them that the ſheriff was not concerned in the buſineſs. He was then urged to teſtify that the ſheriff had notified his regiment, to aſſiſt at that riot, &c. and when he refuſed to give teſtimony to that purpoſe, becauſe it was not true, he was inſulted, and told that he equivocated, and evaded ſwearing the truth, and was aſſured that by his conduct, he had forfeited the benefit of the amneſty to which he was otherwiſe intitled, and alſo his life and property, in not teſtifying to what they demanded of him (and of which, he adds, he was conſcious it was not true,) and told that he could only ſave himſelf by giving ſuch teſtimony.

David Hamilton and others were treated in much the ſame manner, in order to extort teſtimony againſt ſheriff Hamilton, and though no teſtimony could, even by theſe means, be extorted, yet this innocent man was ſubjected to the inſults and ſufferings already related.

I have been informed of various other caſes, wherein improper methods were uſed, to influence witneſſes, but as a recital of them would ſwell theſe ſheets to an improper length, I ſhall decline mentioning them at preſent, and conclude this chapter with an extract from Mr. Brackenridge's Incidents, page 78.

" In collecting evidence againſt me, there was no pains ſpared——In the examination of witneſſes, when brought forward, there was no boot nor other inſtrument of torture in the hands of the examiners; but there was certainly every addreſs to the fears of individuals, to extract from them an acknowledgment of ſomething ſaid or done by me. I am unwilling to mark any thing as contrary to my ideas of propriety, but declaring in all, I have ſeen or heard, I have nothing elſe to mark, I take the liberty of ſtating as what was conſidered by me as improper, *viz.* the ſuggeſtion that the witneſſes in the courſe of the examination, that the enjoyment of the amneſty which they claimed, depended on the candour with which they gave teſtimony againſt others."

In page 75, the ſecretary lays down his pen and interrupts Mr. Brackenridge, while he is proceeding in his teſtimony, and ſays, "I obſerve one leading trait in your account, a diſpoſition to excuſe the principal actors, and before we go further, I muſt be candid and inform you, of the delicate ſituation in which you ſtand; *you are not within the amneſty; you have not ſigned upon the day;* a thing we did not know, till we came on this ground, I mean the Weſtern country, and though the government may not be diſpoſed to act rigorouſly

yet it has you in its power, and it will depend on the candour of your account, what your fate will be."

"Mr. Brackenridge anſwers. *I am not within the amneſty*, and am ſenſible of the extent of the power of the government; but were the narrative to begin again, I would not change a ſingle word."

Mr. Brakenridge had conducted with ſuch addreſs, in a ſituation which rendered it neceſſary for him to temporize, that he knew he was in no danger from the uſual mode of proceſs, but he alſo knew, that the power of the government, with which he was threatened, conveyed another idea. He had obſerved, the innocent and the guilty, indiſcrimately, in many inſtances, ſubjected to unuſual ſufferings and inſults, by the power of government, as exerciſed by the ſecretary. If ſuch powerful addreſſes were made to the hopes and fears of Mr. Brickenridge, who from his profeſſion was able to judge of his own ſituation, what may we not expect was done with ſuch ignorant people, as did not know what part of their conduct or expreſſions might be deemed criminal. It is obſervable, that though the *ſubpœna* for Mr. Brackenridge, came from judge Peters, yet the examination was conducted, and the terrors, &c. diſpenſed by the ſecretary.

CHAP. XIX.

HAVING in the tranſactions already related, introduced my own agency, as ſeldom as the nature of the caſe would admit, I expect the reader will not be offended at finding what I did, or ſuffered, brought more frequently into view in what remains of the work, eſpecially in the two ſucceeding chapters. I wiſh indeed that this part of it had been writen by another hand, for I do not know a more diſagreeable ſubject to write on, than one which involves perſonal conſiderations; yet being convinced that I could not have done juſtice to the general ſubject, if I had kept myſelf altogether out of view, I will make no further apology, but ſubmit it to the deciſion of the public, whether *there is, or is not a cauſe.*

When colonel Morton, Mr. Redick, and myſelf, in the character of commiſſioners, waited on the ſecretary, then in company with governor Mifflin,

at Bonnet's camp, he treated me with decency, and apparent friendſhip, and when I told him, that ſome of the juſtices of the peace had commenced proſecutions againſt offenders, before the commiſſioners had returned to Philadelphia, and that on being informed, that the diſtrict judge and attorney were coming up with the army, they had been adviſed to deſiſt till they would arrive, he approved of adviſing them to deſiſt, and adviſed us to requeſt ſome of the county judges to come to the camp, as ſoon as the judge and attorney ſhould arrive, (they were with the rear of that wing) and that ſome plan would be ſettled with them, for diſtributing the proſecutions. At parting I told him, I deſigned to ſtart for Philadelphia, in about eight or ten days. I gave the ſame information to General Lee at parting.

My reaſon for being particular in mentioning the time, when I intended to leave the country was, that it might not be ſaid, that I went out of the way to avoid a ſcrutiny of my conduct, and my reaſon for ſtaying ſo long, was to give a full opportunity for it; though I was conſcious of having merited approbation, I ſuſpected the ſecretary was more diſpoſed to find fault. I had ſeen his report to the Preſident, and obſerved the inſidious miſrepreſentations it contained. I ought to have attended Congreſs ſooner.

After both wings of the army had encamped in the vicinity of Youghiogany and Monongahela rivers, two of the judges of the court of Weſtmoreland county, general Jack, and Mr. Baird, men of very reſpectable characters, waited on the ſecretary and the judge, in order to be informed what offences would be proper

for the ſtate magiſtrates to proſecute, agreeably to the ſecretary's advice, which I communicated to one of them; but inſtead of conſulting about the diſtribution of the proſecutions, as was expected, they were both ſtrictly examined as witneſſes againſt Mr. Gallatin and myſelf. They were urged to teſtify that Mr. Gallatin had expreſſed himſelf in a treaſonable manner at the firſt Parkiſon's meeting, and when they denied having heard any ſuch expreſſions, the ſecretary aſſerted that he had ſufficient proofs of them already; they however perſiſted in aſſerting that he uſed no ſuch expreſſions, that they had been very attentive to his arguments at the meeting, and they ſtated the ſubſtance of them, and mentioned the abilities he had diſplayed, and the unremitting exertions he had made, on all proper occaſions, to reſtore order, and to convince the citizens of the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the laws: That his deciſion, talents and perſeverance, had contributed more to the reſtoration of order than that of, perhaps, any other perſon, as he had been a member of all the meetings for that purpoſe, and acted with deciſion, when ſeveral others thought it prudent in many inſtances to temporize or were afraid to avow their ſentiments.

In the examination reſpecting myſelf, no ſpecific fact being alleged againſt me, it was rather an inquiſition held on my character than an examination, and the object ſeemed to be, to prove me to be a bad man, as well as a criminal. The queſtions were calculated to procure teſtimony, either that I alone, or in connection with Meſsrs. Smilie and Gallatin had originated the oppoſition to the exciſe law, excited the inſurrection, were enemies to the government, wiſhed to over-

turn it, &c. Few men in that country could have been found, who knew my character and principles, and the ſituation of the country, better than thoſe he now examined. They told him that the oppoſition to exciſes was brought into the country with the ſettlers, many of whom inherited an averſion to them from their fathers; that it was encreaſed by their ſituation; that it was not true that I had promoted the oppoſition in that country; that I had told in their hearing before there was any ground to apprehend an inſurrection, that the exciſe law could not, nor would not, be repealed ſoon, and aſſigned ſatisfactory reaſons for that opinion; that I had ſaid it was my wiſh that the people would ſubmit to it, that in their doing ſo their petitions for ſuch amendments as would render its preſſure more tolerable, would have more weight with congreſs, and the repeal of it in due time would the more eaſily be procured. They informed him alſo of the exertions I had made, and the arguments I had uſed, during the inſurrection, to reſtore order and promote ſubmiſſion to the laws.

When judge Baird related ſome of the arguments which he had heard me expreſs on one or other of theſe occaſions, judge Peters was pleaſed to ſay, that they were ſome of the beſt he had ever heard on that ſubject, and that he could freely forgive me if I had done wrong, on account of having uſed them, but ſecretary Hamilton replied that he would never forgive me, becauſe I had told or wrote lies about him.

I am obliged to judge Peters for his generoſity. I know the humanity of his nature. His diſpoſition to forgive is not the leſs valuable, that I ſtood in no need of its

exertions. I ſhall ſay nothing further, at this time, of the ſecretary's objecting to forgiveneſs, or the ſenſibility evident in his manner of doing it, farther than that it was not the intention of the conſtitution in veſting a Preſident of the United States with authority to call out the militia to ſupport the laws, ſuppreſs inſurrections, &c. nor of Congreſs in directing the mode in which the militia ſhould be called out, nor, I will add, was it the intention of the Preſident in calling out ſo reſpectable an army, or the judge of the ſupreme court in granting the certificate required by law for that purpoſe, or of ſo many American citizens, in making ſuch ſacrifices, to enable a dependant ſecretary to ſatiate his unforgiving diſpoſition on an individual for telling or writing lies on him, even if his aſſertion had not been totally unfounded; but of this in its proper place.

In converſation with thoſe gentlemen, even in public company, he expoſed himſelf to contempt, by ſpeaking of me, in a manner that diſcovered a total diſregard to truth, good policy, or propriety of character. Even when he was contradicted in calling me a bad and diſhoneſt man, and teſtimony given of my character having long ſtood in a very different point of view, by thoſe who were intimately acquainted with it, and whoſe veracity was unimpeachable, and when the confidence which my neighbours and others, who were beſt acquainted with me, had long repoſed in me, was given as a proof of my being an honeſt man, having a conſiſtent character, &c. he reluctantly admitted the force of that evidence with reſpect to my private character, but aſſerted that I was a vain man, and a diſhoneſt politician, and had a very bad heart. Mr.

Gallatin and I had been elected members of congreſs ſhortly before this, and he cenſured the people ſeverely for electing us, and added that they would never do well, nor have any thing done properly for them, while they were repreſented by ſuch men. He expreſſed much ſurpriſe and indignation, at their repoſing ſo much confidence in foreigners, that Gallatin and I were both foreigners and therefore not to be truſted. When it was anſwered, that I had been in the country from my youth, &c. and that Mr. Gallatin had come into it very young, and had been a citizen a competent length of time, to be legally qualified for the truſt, that we were both ſenſible men, and had a ſufficient ſtake in the country, to ſecure our intereſt, he perſiſted in ſaying, that we were bad hearted men and diſhoneſt politicians, and that I particularly had told lies on him, in a pamphlet, entitled, "Thirteen letters, by a citizen," of which he aſſerted I was the author. He reproved them, for not coming to congreſs themſelves, alleging that though we might as they had ſuggeſted, have more knowledge of public buſineſs, yet we were diſhoneſt and dangerous politicians.

He no doubt diſcovered what was true, that the two judges were ſolid, ſenſible men, of reſpectable character, and well acquainted with public buſineſs; but how could he avoid diſcovering that they and I held the ſame political principles, and that if I had not held the political principles which I did, I would not have been the object of their choice. He knew that though they diſapproved of the exciſe law in principle, yet they had done every thing which their

duty as citizens and public officers required of them, in ſupporting the execution, both of the federal exciſe law, and the exciſe of the ſtate, during its continuance. He knew from evidences examined, prior to them, even under circumſtances very unfavourable to impartial teſtimony, that I had not at any time done, nor ſaid, any thing to promote oppoſition to the execution of the law. He knew by their teſtimony, that my language and conduct was favourable to ſubmiſſion to the law, before there was any apprehenſion of an inſurrection, and that I had made every exertion in my power, to impreſs the people that were inflamed againſt the law, with a reſpect for the government, and a diſpoſition to ſupport the laws without exception, and that in doing this, they themſelves, and I myſelf, had an intimate correſpondence, and were in perfect confidence, and that we were equally objects of reſentment for ſome time to the ignorant and obſtinate oppoſers of the laws. He might alſo have eaſily known that ſeveral of thoſe perſons to whom he declaimed againſt me as a foreigner, had themſelves come into the country ſince I did.

The blunders even of wiſe men are ſometimes aſtoniſhing. However, I believe, we are not warranted in giving the appellation of wiſdom to ſuch perſons, as are deſtitute of honour and virtue, let their ſtation be ever ſo high, their talents ever ſo brilliant, or their influence ever ſo powerful. The reader will be able to judge for himſelf, how far the ſecretary's conduct was directed by wiſdom, or governed by the principles of honour and virtue, on a review of thoſe facts and others, that will be hereafter related.

To thoſe who know the ſecretary's own hiſtory, his objecting to a man for being a foreigner, who has been thirty three years in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, near thirty years of that time a head of a family and citizen, who contributed all in his power in accompliſhing the revolution, both by his ſervices in the proviſional government, by committees, when the eſtabliſhed government was aboliſhed, and in the army on the moſt trying occaſions, and who ſince the revolution has been almoſt conſtantly employed either in the public councils of the ſtate or of the federal government; I ſay for ſecretary Hamilton to object to ſuch a man as a foreigner, muſt be aſtoniſhing to thoſe who have any knowledge of his own hiſtory; Nor will it perhaps be leſs ſurpriſing to thoſe who are able to trace his conduct, to hear of his illiberality, in aſſuming to judge the badneſs of another perſon's heart, with whoſe character and conduct he was ſo little acquainted.

Various other inſtances are known of his endeavouring, by improper influence, to procure teſtimony againſt Meſſrs. Smilie, Gallatin, and myſelf, but it is not my object to ſwell the book with numerous details; a few well atteſted facts are ſufficient to my purpoſe.

When the ſecretary was on his return, while he lodged in the houſe of captain R. Dicky, within a few miles of my reſidence, (I was then in Philadelphia,) after enquiring if I did not live near, he ſpoke of my character in his uſual manner, and abuſed the people for ſending me to Congreſs, adding that I was the principal promoter of the inſurrection, &c. &c. Captain Dicky vindicated my character, and informed

him of my general conduct and character, as a friend to order, and of my exertions during the inſurrection, &c. He had been acquainted with me long before either he or I lived in the weſtern country, and therefore ſpoke of my general character with confidence. The ſecretary, full of reſentment at hearing me advocated, exclaimed that I was a bad man, and that it was in vain to vindicate me, becauſe he had the proofs of my guilt in his pocket. Captain Dicky alleged that this was not poſſible, but the ſecretary perſevered in aſſerting it to be true, and aſked Dicky if he had read the thirteen letters. Upon his anſwering in the affirmative, the ſecretary ſwore that he believed there was not an old woman in the country but what had read them, that they contained lies on him, and were written by me. Dicky offended at the ſecretary's ſcurrility againſt me, told him he had read them and believed the facts they contained; and would believe them till they were proved not to be true, let who would have written them. Captain Dicky himſelf had been one of the delegates of that townſhip, at the Parkiſon and Redſtone meetings, from whence he was ſent as one of the committee to the commiſſioners at Pittſburgh.

General White, whoſe treatment of the priſoners I have already taken notice of, abuſed my character in all companies, and told the moſt manifeſt falſehoods with reſpect to my conduct, when at Carliſle with the Preſident, and when he was told that his aſſertions were not true, he gave ſecretary Hamilton for his author, ſaying that the ſecretary was preſent at the interviews with the Preſident. I will juſt mention a

few inſtances of his conduct in this reſpect, of which I have the moſt authentic vouchers.

At table in the houſe of Mr. Kirkpatrick in Greenſburgh, he told in a numerous company, that I had inſiſted on the Preſident to ſend an army into the country, and that the Preſident had anſwered, by ſaying, "Mr. Findley you have raiſed the devil, and you may lay him again yourſelf." On this major Dunham, who was preſent, remarked, "That, ſir, is very unlike the Preſident." The Reverend Mr. Powers had been alleging that his repreſentations of my conduct were not probable, when general White appealed to the Preſident's treatment of me, in confirmation of what he ſaid. While he remained in the ſame family, and was as uſual declaiming againſt me, he aſſerted that I had abuſed the characters of the whole people in the weſtern counties to the Preſident, in order to convince him of the neceſſity of ſending an army againſt them, and that the Preſident anſwered me by ſaying, "Mr. Findley you have raiſed the devil, but you cannot lay him again, or you may lay him again yourſelf," and that I replied, that the people in my neighbourhood were of the moſt implacable and ungovernable diſpoſition, &c. &c. Mr. Kirkpatrick the owner of the houſe objected to this aſſertion, declaring that he had been acquainted with me many years ſo well, that he knew that this was not my manner of ſpeaking, nor a conduct ſuited to my character, that I did not expreſs myſelf in the manner which he had deſcribed on any occaſion; that general White being now acquainted with the country muſt know that the people were not ſuch as to anſwer this deſcription, and that it was

highly improbable that I would give a character of them that they did not deſerve. General White anſwered that I was a damned old hypocrite, and that he had made a point of telling the above wherever he came, and ſaid I deſerved no credit or popularity, and he was determined I ſhould have none.

In the ſame family in the hearing of Hugh Roſs, Eſquire, and others, he aſſerted that I told the Preſident that the people in the weſtern counties were perverſe and inimical to all good government, beyond conception, and ſo abandoned, as that no character, however influential, could reſtrain or perſuade them, and obſerved that it would have been well, if the people had known of my having uſed that converſation before the election, as in that caſe they would not have confided in ſuch a perſon as I was.

At the houſe of William Todd, Eſquire, where he lodged, he enquired if I lived near; being anſwered that I did, but was gone to Congreſs; he ſaid they might as well ſend nobody, that I did not repreſent the people at all. Being told by Mr. Baldridge (whoſe father-in-law, Mr. Todd was then attending in the ſtate Senate) that the people there knew better, and that he could not take a readier way to inſult their feelings, than to ſay ſo; he replied that I would not be heard in Congreſs, &c. He added, that if it had not been for my repreſentation of the people to the Preſident, he would not have ſent the army among them at all; that being aſked by the Preſident, what ſort of people the inhabitants of the weſtern counties were, I anſwered they were the worſt, and moſt hardened people on

earth, and that an army was abſoluterly neceſſary to reduce them to order.

Being aſked if he had heard me ſay ſo, he ſaid he had not, but had it from Mr. Hamilton, the ſecretary of the treaſury, who heard it from my own mouth, and ſaid that the ſecretary told him fruther that the Preſident aſked me if I thought that any thing leſs than ſending the army would do to pacify the minds of the people, and that I replied that nothing leſs would do. When Mr. Baldridge, to convince him how little credit could be given to his aſſertions, informed him how far my conduct had always been the reverſe of his ſtatement of it, what great exertions I had made to preſerve and reſtore order, and how well I ſtood with my neighbours; he aſſerted or ſwore, that if it had not been for Findley, Smilie, and Gallatin, there would have been no inſurrection, and much more to the ſame purpoſe, here and elſewhere avowing it to be his object to render us unpopular, and giving the ſecretary for the author of the ſcandal and falſehood which he uttered againſt us. Indeed in the houſe of repreſentatives of the ſtate in the winter of 1794, a miſrepreſentation of what I had ſaid to the Preſident at Carliſle was made by a very reſpectable member, who had been with the army, and who pointed to the ſecretary, as his author, in a manner eaſily enough underſtood, though he was not named. I ſent a true ſtatement of it in writing to Mr. Gallatin, who corrected the miſrepreſentation on the floor of the houſe, and inſerted my ſtatement in his printed ſpeech.

If the Preſident's manner of converſing had been as well known to thoſe with whom General White

communicated, as it appears it was to major Dunham, thoſe aſſertions would not have gained any credit. Or if general White's true character had been known to the people, little reſpect would have been paid to his ſtories. Indeed his manners were ſuch as to prevent confidence in his repreſentations, if he had not given the ſecretary for his author, but finding that even with that aid he was not credited where I was perſonally known, I paid no reſpect to his aſſertions until I found the falſehoods were not only circulated among people in the weſtern country, who knew me only by name, but alſo through other ſtates. Though few, even of thoſe, believed him at the time, yet being ſupported by the authority of the ſecretary's name, and my taking no pains to contradict his aſſertions, nor to enable my friends to do it, gave them a currency which they could not otherwiſe have procured, and determined me at laſt to take notice of them in this place. I had indeed determined to have treated any thing coming from general White with that ſilent contempt with which I uſually treat every thing which comes from a man of his character and manners. However, knowing that time is favourable to truth, I have not been haſty in defending my own cauſe. This is the firſt attempt I have made to vindicate my character, and I do not do it by aſſertions. I have ſtated the whole correſpondence, which Mr. Redick and myſelf had with the Preſident at Carliſle.

It is obſervable that Mr. Redick and myſelf perfectly coincided in ſentiments and conduct in converſing with the Preſident, yet nothing has been aſſerted

againſt him ; the reaſon of the diſcrimination however is pretty obvious.

In our interview with the Preſident, it will appear that he treated us with that decency and politeneſs, which was ſuitable to the character he has always ſuſtained, and agreeably to the dictates of a policy dictated by a proper attention to the occaſion and circumſtances.

It will likewiſe appear that while we acted the part of honeſt men, in acknowledging the agitation that had prevailed, and the outrages that had been committed, which indeed would not only have been uncandid, but fooliſh to have denied, (as the truth was already known,) we at the ſame time repreſented that the majority of the people in the weſtern counties had always been well diſpoſed, and ſtated the circumſtances, and explained the reaſons, that prevented the well diſpoſed people from being ſucceſsful in their exertions to reſtore order ſooner, and why the number of thoſe who ſigned the amneſty, was not as great as could have been wiſhed.

It will appear likewiſe that we aſſured the Preſident that the well known outcries againſt the ſtate courts, wages, ſalaries, &c. the inſults offered to judges and other reſpectable citizens, the threats of burning, &c. &c. which made ſo much noiſe abroad, and kept the well diſpoſed people in ſome places in fear, for a time, was principally conducted by an ignorant and obſtinate claſs of people, who had little character or property to loſe. That this circumſtance had convinced the citizens generally of the neceſſity of exerting themſelves in ſupport of the laws, and convinced them that their

own peace and ſecurity depended on the due execution of them: And we gave it as our opinion, that this circumſtance alone afforded to government ground of more unequivocal confidence than ſubſcribing any formal aſſurances, or than could even be expected from the march of an army into the country. We alſo obſerved to him that judges and other reſpectable citizens in the weſtern counties, who had given their opinion to the commiſſioners that an army was neceſſary, had ſeen ſufficient reaſon to change their mind, and mentioned a letter from preſident Addiſon, and the unanimous reſolution of the laſt Parkiſon meeting, to prove this change of ſentiment. In ſhort, it will appear on reading the correſpondence, that we from our own knowledge gave it as our opinion unequivocally, that the laws could be executed and atonements made in all the four counties, that with reſpect to the ſettlements near Parkiſon's Ferry where we had not perſonal knowledge, and about which we were more ſtrictly examined, we gave our opinion on the aſſurances received from others, whom we eſteemed worthy of credit. So far were we from aſſigning the well known folly and obſtinacy of a few ignorant people, and their inſulting the ſtate magiſtrates, or the deſign againſt the court of Weſtmoreland, &c. that had been diſcovered and prevented, as a cauſe why an army ſhould be ſent into the country, that we made uſe of theſe circumſtances as the ſtrongeſt ground of aſſurance that the march of an army was not neceſſary, becauſe theſe circumſtances made it the people's own intereſt to preſerve the peace of the country, and effectually convinced them, that if they permitted

even a bad law to be oppoſed, or obnoxious officers to be abuſed, they eventually deſtroyed the beſt ſecurity for their own liberty and property, and we ſuggeſted that a ſufficient teſt had been given as ſoon as could have been reaſonably expected, all things conſidered, that the citizens were able and willing to preſerve order and puniſh offenders, and that ſuch offenders as had not ſigned the amneſty in time were too few in number, and too inſignificant in character, to be proper objects for the ſtrong hand of government, and that even theſe would have time enough to eſcape before the army could arrive.

Theſe circumſtances indeed, on weighing them maturely, in our own minds, were concluſive with ourſelves, and from our own conviction, we ſtated them with candour and confidence to the Preſident. Hence it is evident that that heat and inflammation, which produced alarming diſorders for a time in the weſtern country, and occaſioned ſo much anxiety of mind to the citizens, was ſo far from being uſed by us as an argument in favour of ſending an army, that it was honeſtly applied as the moſt concluſive argument againſt it. It is alſo evident that theſe diſorders were ſtated to be few in number, and to have prevailed in but a few places, and conducted by ſuch as could have but little influence in ſettled times. By examining the eleventh chapter, which deſcribes the ſtate of the country at and after the time of ſigning the amneſty, and the fourteenth chapter, which contains the information given by Mr. Redick and myſelf to the Preſident at Carliſle, it will be ſeen whether or not we underſtood the ſtate of the country, and whether we

gave a candid account of it. It will alſo be eaſily diſcerned that all the information we gave was calculated to convince the Preſident, that the march of the army was not neceſſary for the purpoſe of procuring ſubmiſſion to the laws, and would not be ſucceſsful in obtaining the proper ſubjects for making atonement.

To thoſe, who are acquainted with general White's character, and with mine, no apology will be neceſſary for entering no further into a conteſt with him, than merely by ſtating facts to enable the citizens to judge for themſelves, what credit ought to be given to his aſſertions. I have always been happy in having few enemies in private life, and conſider it as a conſoling reflection in my advanced age, that I have never had a quarrel with a neighbour. However, if it is my lot to have enemies, though I may regret the circumſtance, yet my regret will be the leſs if I have given no juſt cauſe of offence, and if my enemies are ſuch men, as are neither reſpectable for the morality of their principles, or the decency of their manners. It would give me ſenſible pain to know that any conduct of mine had given cauſe of offence to a good man.

Numerous other ſtories have been circulated as from ſecretary Hamilton and his friend general White, which as I have never taken pains to obtain vouchers to prove, I ſhall paſs over in ſilence. The ſtory, however, of the latter inſulting me at Carliſle was not true. I have never yet ſeen him, ſo as to be able to diſtinguiſh him from another man. I was informed, however, of his obſerving me, and ſpeaking of me when I was out of hearing, in ſuch language as was ſuitable to his character; for though I do not know his

perſon, I have not been ſo little converſant with the officers of the late army, and the citizens of New-Jerſey, as to be unacquainted with his fame. I need ſcarcely be at the pains to deny that I went on my knees to the Preſident to beſeech him to ſend forward the army, for though this has been circulated to a very great diſtance on the authority of general White, I preſume few ſenſible people gave credit to it, and the correſpondence with the Preſident, here publiſhed, is a full refutation of it. I will juſt add that the report in the eaſtern counties, that my ſon was concerned in the riot on Webſter, the collector of exciſe, was abſolutely falſe, yet this was aſſerted with ſuch confidence through Pennſylvania, that even my friends for ſome time admitted it to be true, but ſuppoſed it to have been without my knowledge.

CHAP. XX.

AFTER having given ſo full a view of the inſurrection, and the meaſures connected with it, and of the influential ſecretary's virulence againſt myſelf and others, I beg leave to call the reader's attention to a conciſe relation of my own conduct, reſpecting the exciſe law; it will, however, be neceſſary to preface this with an account of my conduct and principles reſpecting the federal government generally. Under the confederation I always contributed what I could to have the requiſitions of the old Congreſs carried into effect; but after the fatigues and riſks of the war were over, I ardently wiſhed to have a more efficient general government, and in the ſtate legiſlature contributed to the reviſion of the confederation, by voting for delegates to the general convention. When the federal conſtitution became a ſubject of diſcuſſion, and was ſubmitted to the ſtate conventions by Congreſs,

I had ſeveral exceptions to it, and wiſhed amendments to the inſtrument to be recommended, and an adjournment previous to ratification. I was the more ſolicitous to obtain the laſt, on account of ſome circumſtances of irritation that were unfriendly to cool diſcuſſion at the time; but both were refuſed. However, when I obſerved that moſt of the other ſtates took ſufficient time to deliberate before they called their conventions, and that the conventions of the other ſtates very generally recommended amendments to the conſideration and adoption of the firſt Congreſs, which was to meet under the government, I became convinced, that delaying in order to call another general convention, in the then ſtate of things, would be highly inconvenient, and approved of the putting the government in operation. My ſentiments were well known to my friends, and it is alſo well known that no oppoſition was made to putting the government into operation in any part of the weſtern counties, nor were there any heats or diſturbance on account of it.

I indeed, on cool reflection, became convinced, that ſome of my objections to it were not well founded, and the firſt Congreſs having early recommended ſome of the amendments I wiſhed, and which have been ſince ratified, gave confidence that other amendments might be attained, when they became neceſſary. I indeed embraced the government as my own and my childrens inheritance, for though I knew it had ſome defects partly ariſing from indiſpenſible cauſes, yet I believed it to be capable of being well adminiſtered, and on the whole, the beſt government in the world.

Though from miſtaken party ſpleen, myſelf and others who acted the part I did, have been called Anti-federaliſts, as a name of reproach, yet I do, and always did, treat the appellation with contempt. If we erred, it was from an exceſs of zeal for federaliſm, and a jealouſy leaſt the federal republican principles of the government were not ſufficiently guarded, and in this we agreed with the majority of the citizens of the United States, who recommended, with the firſt Congreſs, who adopted, and with the legiſlatures who ratified the amendments. I never have been found among thoſe, who oppoſed or embarraſſed the meaſures of a government. Though I knew and acknowledged that the firſt conſtitution of Pennſylvania had defects, and aſſiſted afterwards in reviſing it, yet I never was found among thoſe who combined to embarraſs the meaſures of that government, but contributed all in my power to ſupport its operations and prevent its perverſion.

I, in common with other citizens, was attentive to the operations of the federal government in its outſet, and though I was pleaſed with many things done by it, yet before it had been two years in operation, I was ſurprized to obſerve ſo much of the legiſlative buſineſs referred to the heads of newly erected departments, and eſpecially at the originating revenue ſyſtems being referred to the head of an executive department. This influential power being ſpecifically veſted in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and of an untransferable nature, the transfering it to an executive officer ſeemed the more extraordinary. Indeed, people generally were ſurpriſed to obſerve, not only petitions, but the moſt

important legiſlative buſineſs, referred to one or other of the ſecretaries.

Being elected a member of the ſecond Congreſs, I took my ſeat with a determination to oppoſe the reference of legiſlative buſineſs to executive officers, otherwiſe than to call for ſuch information as they in their official capacity might be able to give. A number of members who had acquieſced in this practice in the beginning, became convinced of the impropriety of it and oppoſed it in the ſecond Congreſs. My oppoſition to it did not ariſe from any perſonal averſion to the ſecretaries to whom the buſineſs was referred, but ſolely from an opinion, that it was unconſtitutional and improper, and that it was really oppreſſive to the officers themſelves, eſpecially to the ſecretary of the treaſury, to whom the criginating of all matters, reſpecting revenue, were referred. I had recently ſeen a ſtriking inſtance in Pennſylvania of the bad effects, both to the public and the officer, reſulting from transferring a multiplicity of buſineſs to an executive officer, and was ſenſible that theſe references prevented the houſe from poſſeſſing ſo much information within itſelf, as if the meaſures originated with committees, and that it laid a foundation for an in and out of door influence, to combine through a ſecretary as a center of connection, which might biaſs the deliberations of the houſe, and which could not ſo eaſily influence a committee of fifteen members, choſen from each ſtate; and that ſuch committee would have leſs inducements to report the ſtate of the revenues in an impoſing manner, or to conceal at any time their real ſituation. I had no apprehenſion, however, that the ſecretary of

the treaſury would take umbrage at the houſe reſuming the exerciſe of its own powers, until I was informed, that he was highly offended at the firſt oppoſition that was made to a reference of revenue buſineſs to him to originate, and threatened, that if this was refuſed, he would reſign his office. Though I exerted myſelf in that oppoſition, yet I was not alone: it was ſupported by a number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed federaliſts and experienced politicians in the houſe, and when the queſtion was taken, it was loſt by a very ſmall majority. On this occaſion, not only the ſecretary himſelf was alarmed, but thoſe that attached themſelves to his intereſt out of doors were much agitated. A few days after the vote, I heard a reſpectable revenue officer in a public company ſay, that a ſet of d—d fellows in Congreſs had attempted to take the originating of revenue meaſures out of the hands of the ſecretary, and that if they ſucceeded, all confidence would be loſt, and that certificates had fallen conſiderably in two days, in conſequence of the attempt. This agitation with a certain deſcription of people out of doors, and the extreme anxiety diſcovered by his friends in the houſe, to ſupport the ſecretary's originating influence, changed my fears, that this undue connection of legiſlative and executive buſineſs would at ſome period produce an undue combination of intereſt, into real ſuſpicions, that it had already produced this effect.

However, though the oppoſition to miniſterial originating of revenue ſyſtems, was ſupported by a large minority, it did not ſucceed in the ſecond Congreſs, nor indeed in the third, without difficulty and delay, and when a committee of ways and means was appoint-

ed, in an advanced ſtage of the ſeſſion, which ſat in the winter and ſpring of 1794, a majority of the committee were ſo attached to their uſual mode of propoſing revenue meaſures, that a ſub-committee, choſen out of the committee of ways and means, immediately referred the buſineſs to the ſecretary. In this way, the taxes on loaf ſugar, ſnuff, &c. were originated. It is known, that during the next ſeſſion, the ſecretary reſigned, and that before he withdrew, he reported to the houſe a plan for new modifying the revenue ſyſtem, in ſuch a manner as to put the diſpoſal or arrangement of the revenue meaſures, as much as poſſible, out of the power of future Houſes of Repreſentatives. This report was introduced, without being called for by the houſe. In the preſent Congreſs, no oppoſition has been made to the appointment of a committee of ways and means, nor has the buſineſs been referred by it to the ſecretary of the treaſury. Though this ſtatement may ſeem unconnected with the inſurrection, yet it leads to the probable ſource of the ſecretary's reſentments againſt me, as well as againſt Smilie and Gallatin, who are of the ſame ſentiments with me, reſpecting thoſe meaſures, and as general White, who appears to have been only the inſtrument of the ſecretary's vengeance, acknowledged, when he was detected in aſſerting falſehoods againſt me, for which he gave the ſecretary as author, that his object was to deſtroy the people's confidence in me; it goes far to confirm the apprehenſion, that political party ſpleen influenced the ſecretary's conduct in the weſtern expedition. On what other ground, could the ſecretary ex-

preſs ſo much reſentment againſt the people for electing us to Congreſs.

Though an unqualified power of levying exciſes was veſted in Congreſs, yet an expectation that that power would never be exerciſed but in caſes of the laſt neceſſity, which had been induſtriouſly inculcated by the moſt influential advocates of the government, and fondly believed by all, had a tendency to ſilence objections to the government going into operation; but when in the ſecond ſeſſion of the firſt congreſs, the ſecretary of the treaſury of his own motion originated an exciſe bill, and laid it before Congreſs, (which however the houſe of Repreſentatives laid aſide at the time) the alarm given by the appearance of an exciſe law in ſo early a ſtage of the operations of the government, and its apparent rejection, gave ſuch alternate emotions of grief and joy in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, as is more eaſily imagined than deſcribed. This circumſtance enabled the houſe of Repreſentatives, in the ſtate Legiſlature, to be ſo unanimous in requeſting the ſenate of Congreſs to reject the exciſe bill, in which buſineſs the city members took a lead. (See Chap III.)

When the exciſe law was enacted, I was ſincerely grieved at the introduction of an exciſe ſyſtem, with all its oaths and officers, and the unavoidable inequality of its preſſure. I was alſo apprehenſive that it might put the vigilance and energy of our new born government prematurely to too ſevere a teſt, and abate that confidence in it with which it was ſo generally embraced at its outſet, and which was ſo neceſſary for its ſupport, until it derived ſtrength from age and

habits of ſubmiſſion. I reflected that the execution of this law might have obſtacles thrown in its way in all places, but eſpecially where it would be peculiarly oppreſſive and conſequently moſt obnoxious. I reflected that to ſecure a prompt ſubmiſſion to the operations of this law, the aid of a judiciary and proper executive officers ſhould be extended ſo as to correſpond with and ſupport the officers in the execution of the law, and protect the citizens who might be, or who ſuppoſed they were, oppreſſed by them. The want of this in the federal government, I thought augured ill to the prompt execution of a law, the operation of which was found difficult to carry into effect in the beſt eſtabliſhed, and moſt energetic, governments.

But did I then, as the ſecretary and many of his friends have maliciouſly aſſerted, ſet about to promote oppoſition to it? No; my conduct was the very reverſe of this.

In June 1791, the operation of the exciſe was to commence, but in the weſtern counties, and I preſume in many other diſtricts in the union, offices were not provided for the entering of ſtills, and the law on experiment proved to be in ſo great a meaſure impracticable, that a reviſion of it was immediately found to be neceſſary. An advertiſement was publiſhed, inviting the citizens of the weſtern counties to meet at Redſtone old Fort, to conſider and give advice how they ſhould proceed with reſpect to the exciſe law; on hearing of the intended meeting, reflecting on the chagrin which prevailed in the minds of the people on account of the ſo unexpected introduction of a ſyſtem which they ſo much abhorred, and knowing

the violent oppoſition that had been given to the execution of the ſtate exciſe law in ſome parts of the country, I was conſiderably alarmed, leſt that if only ſuch people attended the meeting, that were moſt violently oppoſed to the exciſe law, meaſures unfavourable to the peace of the country might be promoted. Therefore, though no correſpondence had taken place between thoſe who promoted the meeting, and the people of the county in which I reſide, I determined to attend it, and to take ſome diſcreet men with me. I never yet knew who firſt promoted the meeting, but the deſign was lawful and proper, it was to conduct meaſures for petitioning Congreſs in order to quiet the minds of the people. Three men accompanied me to the meeting, viz. John Moore, then judge of the court of Weſtmoreland, colonel John Shields and captain Samuel Manhead. I mention their names, becauſe they have always been reſpectable for their love of order, and for ſupporting the government and the laws. It being the harveſt ſeaſon, the meeting was not numerous, there were few from a great diſtance; and no kind of diſorders were attempted. After the meeting was opened, and the hardſhips, that would reſult from the exciſe law, explained in ſome addreſſes to the chair, I obſerved, that though the principles of the exciſe law, and the local oppreſſive effects it would have on the weſtern counties, were developed, yet the conſtitutional power of Congreſs to levy it was not ſufficiently explained. This induced me to addreſs the chair in a diſcourſe of ſome length, in which I firſt aſſerted and explained the conſtitutional authority of Congreſs to levy exciſes, and ſaid, that they themſelves had acknowledged that

right, by adopting the government, electing repreſentatives to it, and having the ſtate officers ſworn to ſupport it. I next proceeded to ſhew the bad effects of violent oppoſition to it, and endeavoured to convince them, that the only choice they had, was either to pay the tax, or otherwiſe to refrain from ſtilling, and ſuggeſted that to refrain from ſtilling altogether, was a much more tolerable evil than any mode of actual oppoſition, and that in the mean time, it was their duty to lay their grievances before Congreſs by petition, but that as petitioning itſelf was an acknowledgment of the authority of government, in the caſe reſpecting which they addreſſed it, petitioning was therefore inconſiſtent with oppoſition. I concluded by pointing out the evils in the exciſe law and the hardſhips peculiar to their local ſituation, to which their petitions ſhould apply, and took particular care not to invite them to expect an immediate repeal, but encouraged them to look for relief to be obtained by a reviſion of it, as I knew it could never be executed till it was reviſed, and informed them, that in its preſent ſtate, it was impracticable.

I appeared to be heard with attention, at leaſt there was no appearance of the contrary. I was informed however, when I ſat down, that one man during the early part of the diſcourſe, ſlowly lifted up his ſtaff to a ſtriking poſition, and the obſerver was prepared to prevent the ſtroke, by ſeizing the ſtaff, but when I came to point out the grounds to which the petitions ſhould apply, the ſtaff was let down again, without being exerciſed. I expected a petition had been prepared to be offered at the meeting, but it was not. (See chap.

III.) No argument was offered in my hearing, nor obſervation made that was calculated to encourage riotous oppoſition to the law.

This was the only popular meeting, either reſpecting the exciſe or any other law, that ever I attended or addreſſed in the weſtern counties, until after the inſurrection took place, and I did nothing in the meeting except making the diſcourſe I have mentioned; my avowed intention of attending it, was to pay the wages of the militia, that had ſerved on general Harmer's campaign, many of whom reſided in that part of the country, and attended at the meeting.

In about two weeks after this meeting, I had to attend a ſeſſion of Aſſembly at Philadelphia, and did not return till the week before the election, at which I was choſen to repreſent the ſtate in the ſecond Congreſs. At the county courts, which ſat the week preceding the week of the election, there appeared a publication in the Pittſburgh gazette, charging me with being one of the authors and promoters of exciſes; it was alſo ſent to the election diſtricts. There was no time left for me to reply to it, if I had been ſo diſpoſed; it did not however prevent my being elected by a large majority, though it no doubt made that majority leſs. The candidate oppoſed to me, was a member of the Pittſburgh meeting, which in 1791, prepared a petition to Congreſs reſpecting the exciſe law, and publiſhed ſome indiſcreet reſolutions againſt ſeveral other meaſures of government. (See chapter II.) The perſon who was the candidate oppoſed to me at the election, had been a uniform federaliſt and never that I knew of diſcovered any diſapprobation of the exciſe

law, before he was a member of the Pittſburgh meeting. I cenſured the reſolutions freely, both to the gentleman to whom I have alluded, and to ſuch other members of that meeting as I had an opportunity of ſeeing. I was at home, when the meeting was held at Pittſburgh, in Auguſt 1792, and was requeſted by general Wilkin of Pittſburgh to be at Pittſburgh, at the time of it, not as a member, but to have an opportunity of giving my advice againſt intemperate reſolutions, if any ſuch ſhould be offered. I declined attending and gave him ſuch reaſons for doing ſo, as ſatisfied him afterwards, if not at the time. I had always thought it improper for a meeting convened for the expreſs purpoſe of preparing a petition or memorial to government, to avail themſelves of that opportunity to cenſure the meaſures of government. My ſentiments on this ſubject were well known to my friends. Mr. Brackenridge in page 22, and ſome other places, of his incidents, ſeems to overrate the unpopularity that was attached to perſons who advocated ſubmiſſion to the execution of the exciſe law; it was not made a teſt of character, to my knowledge, to the degree he mentions. I knew of no men preferred at elections, for the ſtate legiſlature, or any other purpoſe, for oppoſing it, either by word or deed, at the elections in which I was concerned. The moſt popular official characters in Weſtmoreland county, judges and others, were known to be in favour of the execution of it. In Fayette county, James Findley was known to be an advocate for ſubmiſſion to the exciſe tax, yet he was an aſſociate judge, a ſenator and again a judge, as it ſuited his conveniency; few indeed, how-

ever, advocated the principles of the law itſelf, and that will always be the caſe; but many uſed arguments in abatement of the hardſhips ariſing from its operation. However, I do not diſpute the truth of Mr. Brackenridge's remarks, with reſpect to what fell under his own obſervation, and his book for the moſt part, treats only of ſuch things, as did fall under his immediate obſervation.

The inſpector's houſe, with the attack on which the inſurrection commenced, is ſaid to be about eight miles ſouth weſt of Pittſburgh. I live above forty miles north eaſt of it, conſequently, near fifty miles diſtant. I never have been in the part of the country where it lays, nor had I ever been in the ſettlement, where the inſurrection is believed to have originated, until laſt ſummer, that having occaſion to go to Waſhington, I took the road which paſſes through Mingo Creek ſettlement, when I planned to lodge a night at the houſe where general White gave ſuch a diſplay of his total want of the feelings of humanity. I was a perfect ſtranger to the road and to the inhabitants. I had heard indeed of a number of decent reſpectable people living in that ſettlement, and I being ſo much in public life, they had no doubt heard of me, but not one of the citizens in that ſettlement, ever had a correſpondence with me even by letter. None of the inhabitants ever happened to be members of the public bodies where I was employed.

Yet the ſecretary and his emiſſaries have not ſcrupled to aſſert, that I was the author of the inſurrection, that I ſet it a going, but had cunning enough, to keep myſelf clear, and many other ſuch malicious

and totally unfounded aſſertions. Smilie and Gallatin were uſually connected with me in the charge of promoting the inſurrection, and planning to overturn the government, &c.

I did not hear of the marſhal coming up to ſerve the proceſſes, nor was I informed circumſtantially of the attacks on the inſpector's houſe till after the Braddock's field rendezvous, viz. near two weeks after the inſpector's houſe was burned, my firſt correct information of the buſineſs was received from a young man in the neighbourhood, who had been on a viſit to ſee relations in Waſhington county, and had for curioſity attended at the Mingo Creek meeting and at Braddock's field. He called at my houſe in the morning to tell me the news, and informed me very circumſtantially reſpecting all the meaſures, and particularly of Bradford's ſpeech at Mingo Creek meeting, and his ſubſequent conduct in procuring the mail to be robbed, promoting the rendezvous, &c. and of the agitation among the people and their confidence in Bradford, &c. I had ſome days before ſeen the advertiſement of the meeting intended to be held at Parkiſon's ferry, and of the mail having been robbed, and had gone to Greenſburgh to enquire what the meeting was intended for, and from what ſource the appointment came. I there got an indiſtinct account of the burning of the inſpector's houſe, but no further information about the meeting, but in conſultation with with my friends there we agreed not to take any notice of the meeting, and I adviſed my neighbours to the ſame courſe, but on receiving circumſtantial information from the young man, and learning that the out-

rages were occaſioned by the marſhal ſerving writs, and being further informed by him that it was highly dangerous for me, or any other perſon, to enſure Bradford's meaſures I was agitated with ſuch a mixture of grief and anger, that I ſpoke of their conduct with unguarded ſeverity. He urged me in vain to be cautious, ſuggeſting that if my language came to be known it would bring me into trouble; though I knew he was my friend I paid no reſpect to his advice, and ſcarcely took it in good part, till in leſs than an hour after, one of the country commiſſioners called to inform me of the alarming news. He alſo adviſed me to ſpeak of it more cautiouſly, leſt I ſhould come to trouble, and told me that a party were gone that day from the ſouth of Weſtmoreland to attack Wells, the collector of exciſe, at his houſe in Fayette county. I learned through another channel that threatening letters were ſent to the next townſhip to the one in which I lived, in order to excite a party to pay an unfriendly viſit to Webſter the collector of Bedford county. It is eaſier to imagine than deſcribe my ſenſations on receiving ſuch alarming information, in ſuch rapid ſucceſſion. After compoſing my mind in order to reſolve with the greater coolneſs what was beſt to be done, I concluded that the only practicable method to ſtop the progreſs of anarchy and outrage was to procure as many diſcreet perſons as poſſible to attend as delegates at the Parkiſon's meeting. As ſoon as my mind was made up to this purpoſe, I went to the neareſt tavern on the great road, and ſent for Mr. Todd, one of the judges of the court, to meet me, in order to conſult what was beſt to be done. We agreed to hold

an election for delegates, and for this purpose to warn the people, and to persuade discreet persons to accept of the appointment. While I was at the tavern a message came to my house from general Jack at Greensburgh, recommending the very plan I was pursuing. It is remarkable that the same measure was suggested by the urgency of the occasion in Fayette and Westmoreland, and at Pittsburgh, without any correspondence between the people of these different counties (See Chap. IX.)

Besides the delegates, I advised the judges and other discreet citizens to attend and mix with the people, alleging that every one of them might find some man to converse with, who might take their advice or be bettered by their information, and I went myself with the same design. It was with this view that general Jack, judge Beard, and other respectable and influential citizens attended at Parkison's Ferry meeting. While I was there, and before the meeting had proceeded far in its business, I received a letter by express from the commissioners, who had come in great haste as far as Greensburgh. In the letter they informed me that they had sent forward an express to go to my house, but were glad to find that I was gone to the meeting to promote the very object for which they were sent by the President, viz. to restore order. They explained the nature of their mission in their letter to me, but informed me that the success of it must depend on meeting with correspondent sentiments in the people, and requested me to inform the meeting of their arrival, and to endeavour to have arrangements made for opening a correspondence

between them and the meeting, but not to read their letter to me, to the meeting. (See Chap. IX.)

In ſhort, I attended at every meeting that was held for the purpoſe of reſtoring order, except the ſecond meeting at Parkiſon's Ferry, which was convened to give aſſurances that order was already reſtored, and I alſo attended at different worſhiping congregations, at the court, and at every place where I could get an opportunity to converſe with the people; and where I thought it could be uſeful I addreſſed them in a public manner. In the moſt critical ſituations, I neither temporized nor concealed my ſentiments. This was indeed a new ſcene to me, for I never had been accuſtomed to addreſs popular meetings. I alſo travelled into different places of the country, in order to ſtir up ſuch as I thought were capable of inſtructing their neighbours, and to aſſiſt them with the beſt reaſons and moſt powerful arguments that I could ſuggeſt; and ſeveral applied to me of their own accord, to aſſiſt them with ſuch information and arguments as I thought could be uſeful. Indeed, from the time I engaged in the buſineſs, which was as early as I had opportunity, I took no reſt, either to body or mind, and ſuffered much grief and vexation on account of the diſtreſs and folly of a number of people with whoſe ſituation and anxiety of mind I ſincerely ſympathized, while many of them were offended at the part I took, and treated my advices with contempt, and my aſſertions for ſome time with diſcredit; but I was always ſupported and encouraged by citizens, who had in ſettled times the greateſt credit for underſtanding and patriotiſm.

The whole of my conduct was ſtated and proved to the ſecretary in ſtronger terms than thoſe in which I have related it, by men of the moſt reſpectable character, who were not only eye and ear witneſſes to much of it, but who were fellow labourers with me, in promoting the reſtoration of order and ſubmiſſion to the laws, and who alſo teſtified to the uniformity of my conduct and ſentiments both before and after the inſurrection.

But the ſecretary had more early and unequivocal proofs within his own knowledge of my endeavours to have the exciſe law well executed as long as it continued unrepealed. Early in the winter of 1792, I wrote a letter to the Preſident, at the inſtance of governor Mifflin, and ſome time after another at the inſtance of the Attorney General of the United States, and the attorney of the diſtrict of Pennſylvania, relating to the caſe of Beer and Kerr, both of which I had reaſon to believe were given to the ſecretary; in theſe letters I gave my opinion that if ſpecial ſeſſions of the court were held in the country, the courts would be protected and competent juries found to confirm this opinion. I ſtated in ſubſtance, that the ſtate courts had never been inſulted, nor the want of good juries complained of in caſes ariſing under the ſtate exciſe law, or other caſes equally obnoxious, and at the ſame time ſuggeſted, that carrying people all the way to Philadelphia, was ſo obnoxious, that doing it might be attended with difficulty, if not with riſk, and would render witneſſes more difficult to procure; that ſuppoſing the perſons charged to be innocent, as I was confident

thoſe in queſtion were, the taking them to a diſtance for trial, would be the more unpopular.

In the preceding ſeſſion, when I knew the ſecretary was preparing a report for the reviſion of the exciſe law, I by letter, requeſted a converſation with him on the ſubject. In the conſequent interview, I informed him, that though I diſapproved of the exciſe law, I was ſenſible it could not be releaſed from the appropriation until we could ſupply its place with another tax, which I knew Congreſs was not then diſpoſed to do, that therefore I wiſhed by all means to give it a fair trial and have it promptly executed, and mentioned my apprehenſion of bad conſequences to the government, if the execution of it was trifled with, becauſe that the credit and authority of the government were equally pledged for the execution of all its laws, ſo that if one law was impracticable or oppoſed with ſucceſs, the authority of other laws would be alſo diſregarded, and the number and magnitude of crimes would be encreaſed by impunity. I recommended ſeveral alterations, which I thought would render the execution of the exciſe law more practicable; among thoſe, were lowering the tax, at leaſt till the people were better reconciled to the execution of the law, and eſtabliſhing ſeſſions of the court in the country. On this laſt I laid great weight, and lamented, that competent authority had not been veſted in the ſtate courts for that purpoſe.

When the report was made, few of ſuch amendments were propoſed as I had adviſed, ſome of them I endeavoured to introduce in the houſe, and ſucceeded ſo far as to have the tax made one cent lower

than the ſecretary reported, but this did not equalize it with the tax on other ſpirits, in proportion to the then ſelling prices in the market; much leſs did it anſwer the political purpoſe of reconciling the people to it.

It had become cuſtomary, for the members to read the reaſoning with which the ſecretary always accompanied his reports, as arguments on the floor, to which I had been always oppoſed; but on this occaſion, I oppoſed the practice with more than uſual warmth and perſeverance, riſing more frequently than I had ever done in the committee of the whole, to declare it out of order, &c. and aſſerting, that the members excluſively were entruſted to give information of the ſtate of the country for the purpoſes of taxation, and that the information given by the individual members, formed that aggregate of local knowledge, which ought to guide the diſcretion of the houſe, in accommodating the laws to the circumſtances of the citizens, and that the information received from the ſecretary's cloſet, being collected from revenue officers, or other agents who were not publicly reſponſible for the information they gave, and who frequently were intereſted in giving it wrong, and the ſecretary himſelf not being conſtitutionally qualified, nor reſponſible for it, I conſidered it as no authority for our conduct, and improper to be uſed for that purpoſe. I do not remember, that his reports have been made uſe of on the floor, otherwiſe than for information reſpecting his official ſtatements, ſince that time, but the oppoſition commenced on this occaſion was perſevered in, till it was finally ſucceſsful, and until the houſe reſumed the ex-

erciſe of originating revenue ſyſtems. The hand I had in this, and ſome cenſures I paſſed in the houſe on ſome ſyſtems originated by the ſecretary, no doubt rendered me obnoxious to him, and the more ſo as the public mind teſtified in favour of this change, at the next election, but more decidedly at the election which took place in Pennſylvania, previous to his arrival in the weſtern country. This accounts for his being ſo outrageouſly offended at Gallatin and myſelf being elected into Congreſs, and he and his friend general White making ſuch malicious exertions, and aſſerting ſuch mean falſehoods, to deſtroy my popularity, as they expreſſed it. A mighty object indeed, for the man who aſſumed or had aſcribed to him by his friends, the honour of guiding the helm of ſtate, both in its legiſlative and executive meaſures! It alſo accounts for his officious endeavours to influence the Virginia militia, reſpecting the election then depending in that ſtate; but it is beyond my purpoſe to give a ſtatement of his exertions in that buſineſs.

One charge which he mentioned with great ſenſibility and reſentment, was, that I had wrote a pamphlet, called "thirteen letters," which he ſaid, contained lies on him; but he has neither proved me to be the author of that pamphlet, nor pointed out any particular lie it contained. Writing is not my profeſſion, nor have I ever engaged largely in it, nor publiſhed a falſehood to my knowledge. I never have in my life publiſhed a ſentence that I would deny being the author of, if decently called upon, nor did I ever give a piece to a printer anonimouſly, or direct him to conceal my name. However, if the ſecretary will acknowledge

himſelf to be the author, if true, of a great variety of pieces, which have by public opinion, been aſcribed to him, I will make a full acknowledgment of all I ever publiſhed; theſe, it is true, will be few in number, but they will diſcover that I have been conſiſtent in my principles. I am miſtaken, if on examining the numerous productions aſcribed to him, the author might not be quoted in oppoſition to himſelf, and if ſome of the moſt valuable characters in the United States would not appear to have been traduced by his pen. If I were explicitly to deny a charge made in this way, he might charge me in the ſame manner with writing Catullus, Maſſachuſitenſis, the ſtate of parties, Manlius, &c. &c. and though I would acknowledge they contained untruths, I could not eaſily prove that I had not wrote them, for I have ſpread ſome of them all, though the ſecretary or ſome of his friends know beſt their authors. To ſatisfy other citizens, however, I will aſſert, that I have not for ſeveral years publiſhed a line in the Pittſburgh gazette or any other newſpaper, except in the ſpring previous to the inſurrection, when I ſent up to the editor of the Pittſburgh gazette, a correct account of the revenue laws that had been enacted that ſeſſion, in order to counteract the falſe reports, that I had been informed were circulated concerning them.

The ſecretary was miſtaken with reſpect to the ſpread of the thirteen letters, which he ſaid, had been read by every old woman in the weſtern country. I have ſince been particular in examining, and can diſcover but a few of them to have been ſpread in the weſtern ſurvey, previous to the inſurrection. I heard

of but one in the town or county of Waſhington; there might have been more; but after the ſecretary had diſcovered ſo much reſentment againſt that pamphlet, all that could be procured of them were diſperſed, and whatever doubts might have been entertained of the truth of the facts ſuggeſted in them, the ſecretary's aſſerting that they contained falſehoods without particularizing any of them, has been conſidered as a confirmation of the truth of the whole they contained. I had put ſome of them into the hands of my friends, as I do of all political publications, and more of them I believe were in the north of Weſtmoreland, than in all the weſtern counties beſides, and I have not diſcovered that any perſon who read them, engaged in the inſurrection: there was not one of them known to be in Mingo creek ſettlement. They appear chiefly to contain a ſtatement of facts, from which inferences are drawn. If but a few of the leading facts were proved to be falſe, others would be diſcredited and the inferences would fall of courſe. This would be a more eaſy and honorable method, than holding an inquiſition at the head of an army.

An apology is neceſſary to the reader for engaging his attention ſo long about what relates to myſelf. I would not have done it merely on the account of Alexander Hamilton and William Findley, but a head of the financiering department, an influential member of the cabinet, who not only conducted his department in ſuch a manner as to render a powerful military expedition neceſſary, and moſt probably with a view to promote that event, and who in that expedition was underſtood to influence its movements and to direct

and aſſume the exerciſe of the judiciary authority, without being attached to the expedition in any known and reſponſible character, and who, thus armed with the exerciſe of military authority, attempted to chaſtiſe the people in one ſtate for electing ſuch perſons as he diſapproved of, and to influence the elections of another, is a conſideration of more importance to the citizens, and the knowledge of it may have greater influence on the future meaſures of the executive department, than merely conſidered as relating to Alexander Hamilton as a citizen. What reſpects myſelf is of no other importance to the public, than that as a Repreſentative of the people, and on account of my political principles and conduct, I was marked out as a victim of miniſterial vengeance. All the ſecretary's exertions could have no effect on the opinion of the citizens with whom I enjoy intimate ſociety, and as all my ambition is to ſpend the remainder of my days in a comfortable retirement in the boſom of my family and friends, when I ceaſe to repreſent them in a public capacity, this I can enjoy without having it impaired by Mr. Hamilton's virulence. Thankful indeed I am, that though no government can prevent a man of ſuperior talents, dangerous principles, and malevolent temper, from being armed at times with a dangerous portion of public power, yet ſuch are our government and laws that ſuch men are reſtrained from gratifying, though not from diſcovering, what they would do if they had power.

After an inquiſition accompanied with the moſt illegal inducements to promote diſcovery, and notwithſtanding the ſecretary's repeated aſſeverations to the

witneſſes that he was already poſſeſſed of proofs of criminality againſt Smilie, Gallatin, and me, no teſtimony was found even to lay a foundation for ſuſpicion. The ſituations in which we lived, and the conduct of the people around us, forbid ſuſpicion of either combination among ourſelves or connection with the inſurgents; living as we do near 30 miles from each other, we have little or no correſpondence but when we meet in Philadelphia, and reſiding from thirty to fifty miles from the ſeat of the inſurrection, and having no connection or correſpondence in that part of the country, nor perſonal acquaintance with the citizens reſiding in the ſettlement where the outrages commenced, we had no opportunity of influencing them either for or againſt the exciſe law, nor of knowing that theſe citizens were more determined in their oppoſition to it than others, nor did we know of the exiſtence of the Mingo creek aſſociation which is ſuppoſed to have produced the inſurrection, till we were informed of it afterwards. Though the heat and inflammation ſpread into the counties in which we are reſident, during the progreſs of the diſorders, yet no perſon from either of theſe counties had any part in originating the inſurrection, nor did the official certificate from judge Wilſon, nor the proclamation of the Preſident bottomed on that certificate, ſuggeſt that an inſurrection exiſted in theſe counties, but confined it expreſsly to the counties of Waſhington and Allegany. It is alſo known that though the whole people of the county of Fayette refuſed to ſign the amneſty, and though a great proportion of the people of Weſtmoreland declined ſigning it, or varied the form of the aſſurances, yet only three

perſons were ſought after or taken priſoners from theſe two counties. Againſt two of theſe no bills were found, and the third, whoſe character and fate is deſcribed in page 211, was a perſon of whom I had not the moſt diſtant knowledge, though he reſided in the ſame county about twenty miles diſtant. Smilie and Gallatin living in Fayette county, of courſe did not ſign the amneſty, and for particular reaſons they would not have done it even if it had been produced to them for that purpoſe. I did not ſign it on the day appointed myſelf, though I had laboured to promote the ſigning of it by others. I thought it moſt conſiſtent with the ſtation which I occupied and the part I acted, to put it out of the power of any perſon to ſay, that I had ſigned the amneſty to avoid a ſcrutiny of my conduct. That ſcrutiny has been made by an artful, a diſcerning, and revengeful enemy, and not even the ſemblance of exciting oppoſition to the execution of the law, or of enmity to the government, or of endeavouring to embarraſs its meaſures, or even of the crime of treating an exciſe officer unpolitely, has been diſcovered. Indeed I treated the inſpector with the ſame attention that I had done formerly, and Mr. Wells, the collector, with greater attention than I had ever formerly done. I never heard him complained of for illegal ſeizures or other acts of oppreſſion, my only complaint againſt him was want of deciſion and addreſs in the execution of the law. Nor was there any teſtimony found againſt Meſſrs. Smilie and Gallatin, but much was teſtified in their favour. It was known and teſtified that I had diſcountenanced the meetings that denounced the exciſe law and the officers under it, and that I cenſured

the reſolves as indiſcreet and impolitic; that in ſhort I had diſcountenanced every meaſure except petitioning; and that I encouraged this as a direct acknowledgement of the authority of the government, and as a means of turning the attention of the people to it as the only lawful and practicable ſource of relief.

Though I had never heard any perſon advocate a riotous oppoſition to the exciſe law, yet I was always watchful to reprove any expreſſions that I thought leaned that way, and to deſcribe the dangerous effects that encouraging them would have on ſociety. Often have I ſaid on ſuch occaſions, that to countenance riots againſt the execution of any law, was like throwing the bridle on a wild horſe's neck, of whom, when he was let looſe, there was no telling what courſe he would take, or where he would ſtop, and ſuggeſted that even liberty exerciſed without a ſubordination to rule would ſoon become allied to the worſt paſſions, and produce the moſt arbitrary and ruinous effects, ſuch ſentiments as theſe were frequently introduced in converſation and in my letters to my friends, and I can appeal to all who had an opportunity of knowing, to teſtify if I ever ſpoke, wrote, or acted contrary to theſe ſentiments.

Perhaps it will be replied that I wrote a letter to Mr. Petrikin at Carliſle during the time of the inſurrection, and that as he was charged with promoting ſedition, my letter to him muſt have been of a ſeditious nature. This concluſion was induſtriouſly promoted by ſome, but certainly a knowledge of my conduct reſpecting the inſurrection would have juſtified another concluſion; however I will inſert the letter, and leave

the original with the printer, but firſt I will ſtate the circumſtances in which it was written.

On the evening of the 1ſt of September 1794, when I had juſt returned from the Redſtone meeting, and was full of anxiety on account of the diſpoſition evidenced there which occaſioned the miſcarriage of the deſign of that meeting, and the uncertainty of what might be the event, a friend who was going over the mountains to Greencaſtle and Carliſle offered to carry letters to my relations. I wrote letters to two of my brothers-in-law, the one near Greencaſtle, and the other near Carliſle, viz. John Coughran and Joſeph Junkin, both known to be well diſpoſed ſenſible men. Before I went to bed I received a letter from Mr. Petrikin of Carliſle, the purport of which was to inform me of a county meeting to be held at Carliſle, and though he did not explain the intention of the meeting, yet I ſuſpected that it might poſſibly be his intention to diſſuade the militia from obeying the orders of the Preſident, and though I hoped there would not be a neceſſity for the militia to march, yet I knew that reports of their refuſing to march, or appearing to join the inſurgents, would tend to defeat our endeavours to reſtore order. Under this impreſſion I immediately wrote an anſwer to Petrikin's letter. Under the ſame impreſſions and with the ſame views I would have written to any perſon exiſting, if there had been the ſame proſpect of doing good, or preventing miſchief. The only dread I had in writing it was, that the contents of the letter might ſome way or other find their way to the inſurgents, and ſubject me to trouble from them. Under

this impreſſion I omitted the names of thoſe who promoted the diſorders which the letter deſcribes, and gave no advice, but confined myſelf to giving a relation of the ſtate of things with us. The deſcription which I gave, I thought might have a happy effect in preventing the citizens of Cumberland county from doing any thing in imitation of the rioters, or that would encourage them. However, as things took a more favourable turn with us, the contents of the letter could not have found their way back in time to do me any harm, for though the impreſſion of terror was the greateſt at the Redſtone meeting of any inſtance that had fell under my immediate obſervation, it was the laſt exertion made by thoſe who directed the robbing of the mail, and the expulſion of thoſe who wrote letters; my letter to Mr. Petrikin indeed was haſtily wrote and rudely digeſted. However as much has been ſaid about it, I ſhall take the liberty of inſerting it.

September 1ſt, 1794.

" Dear Sir,

" Yours of the 26th ult. I have juſt received, and as a bearer ſtarts early in the morning, though it is now late, I ſhall acknowledge the receipt of it before I ſleep. Our riotous oppoſition to the exciſe law has gone the length of expelling the exciſe officers from this diſtrict, but not without flagrant inſtances of outrage and diſorder. Several of thoſe who took a lead in this buſineſs had been early friends to liberty, the moſt active of

them were warm federaliſts. The diſlike to the exciſe law is general, but the leaders of the confuſion do not now ſtop at this, for ſome who have been zealous friends to the federal government now declaim in favour of total diſunion and independence. Such is too generally the conduct of unprincipled men, even a good cauſe would be injured by receiving ſupport from ſuch *. Though on proper occaſions I have endeavoured to inform the public mind ſo as to promote a repeal of the exciſe law, or more eſſential amendments, yet I was always watchful againſt riots or any thing that might tend to promote any unconſtitutional exertions. When we had recourſe to theſe in the late revolution, the object to which they were to lead the way was of the greateſt importance, and the exertions were conducted with prudence and ſyſtem. The diſturbances with us commenced by accident and have been conducted with diſorder and extravagance, the general diſlike to the law had indeed rendered the citizens in ſome places too ſuſceptible of irritation and too much diſpoſed to commit outrages.

"However a meeting of from two to five delegates from each townſhip were met to conſider of the beſt means of reſtoring peace and order, when the commiſſioners arrived from Philadelphia, avowedly for the ſame purpoſe. Their arrival and errand was announ-

* When Bradford declaimed in favour of war and independence at Redſtone, I ſuſpected that he was encouraged by others. It appears however I was miſtaken, for a diſpoſition of that kind has not been traced further than that declamation, which was probably the ravings of the moment. The diſturbances were not ſo much promoted by ſuch as had been diſappointed of offices as I had been then informed.

ced to the meeting by me, and had a good effect upon their deliberations, but the proclamation and the orders to the militia arrived next morning and produced a contrary effect, and excited a high degree of irritation among thoſe characters that were moſt inflammatory. I muſt acknowledge that the commiſſioners do not offer terms with exceptions of perſons or by halves, as the Britiſh did at the late revolution. They propoſe a full indemnity to all offenders, and for all offences, and a remittance of the exciſe for the time paſt, and alſo conditionally to refrain from calling the people out of the counties for trial, on condition of a promiſed ſubmiſſion to the laws. This is indeed all the Preſident could do on his part, and it is neceſſary on the part of the people, even if it had no other advantage than to open the way for petitions to Congreſs in order to obtain a repeal of the exciſe law, or reaſonable amendments. It is alſo neceſſary on account of the diſorders and threats of violence of the people in oppoſition. Two committees have agreed to the terms with a reference to the approbation of the people, the obtaining of which from all the people is doubtful; and there is great dread of internal diſorders and violence; freedom of ſpeaking and writing has been for ſome time ſuppreſſed, but this evil is working its own cure, by rouſing and uniting the well diſpoſed to exert themſelves in reſtoring order. *I am, &c.*

This is the letter, which has been repreſented as ſo criminal in me, not ſo much on account of its contents as of the perſon to whom it was directed. He has informed me that he never read the letter to any perſon, but told

ſome ſentences out of it perhaps pretty fairly. I did not intend it to be kept a ſecret. I with difficulty procured it from Mr. Petrikin, and not till I had to promiſe to return it to him, if neceſſary for his defence, before he would part with it; through the haſte in which this letter was wrote it is not perfectly accurate, however the liberality of the terms offered in behalf of the Preſident is ſomewhat exaggerated, and the armed party appearing at, and overawing the Redſtone meeting, from which I had returned, omitted with deſign. I knew liberty poles had been erected at Carliſle, and though I did not know that William Petrikin had any hand in erecting them, yet from what I knew of his character I was afraid he might take a warm part at the meeting, and therefore ſtated the conduct of government and of the inſurgents in ſuch a manner, as to give him no ground to complain of the one, or encouragement to imitate the other, and mentioned my own diſlike to the exciſe law, to ſhew that the outrageous oppoſition that was made to it was calculated to prevent and not to promote its repeal. William Petrikin's letter to me contained nothing injurious, and it was the firſt and only letter he had ever wrote to myſelf or any other perſon in the weſtern country to my knowledge And notwithſtanding the miſchievous rapidity with which inflammatory news was ſpread through the weſtern country that ſummer, I could not trace it letters; but one of that ſort was diſcovered, and it was not ſigned by the author.

I knew that it was reported in the army, and circulated even among the members of Congreſs, when I took my ſeat, in November 1794, that I had correſponded with Bradford, and that ſuch of my letters

were found among his papers, as would prove me to have been at the bottom of the inſurrection. It will be remembered, that the ſecretary on his return to Philadelphia told Captain Dicky, that he had ſufficient proof of my guilt in his pocket. It was told in the city, as a ſecret which ſoon was heard by every body, that proofs were obtained againſt Smilie, Gallatin and myſelf, that we were deeply concerned in and promoted the inſurrection. I traced ſome of thoſe ſtories, to ſources from which I did not expect they would have come, and I called on the late attorney general and the attorney of the diſtrict, who aſſured me there was no proof of criminality of any kind againſt us. The diſtrict attorney acknowledged, however, that a ſcrutiny had been made, and promiſed when he had leiſure, to ſelect the places where my name was mentioned for my peruſal. I then deſigned, to have procured and publiſhed a certificate from him, but on ſecond thoughts declined doing it. I knew the attorney general advocated my conduct from what he had obſerved, and was informed of it when he was commiſſioner in the weſtern counties. He and judge Yates had ſufficiently expreſſed their confidence in me on their arrival in that country, by ſending to me firſt, explaining the object of their miſſion in a confidential letter, and employing me to procure the means of correſponding with the meeting. The laſt time I ever ſaw the late attorney general, he aſked me to take a walk with him at the ſtate houſe, and after conſulting me, with reſpect to a ſubject which he thought of importance for the peace and happineſs of Pennſylvania, and par-

ticularly of the weſtern counties*, he took an opportunity of expreſſing his diſapprobation of the liberties that had been taken with my character, and aſſured me he had always been my advocate. He had long known me; our firſt acquaintance was at the camp at Amboy, in the year 1776.

The truth is, letters had never at any time paſſed between me and any perſon concerned in promoting the inſurrection, except colonel Marſhal; with him I had correſponded ſeveral times, but not for two years previous to the inſurrection, except one in anſwer to a letter reſpecting his ſon, then reſiding in the city, who was about going into a new line of buſineſs. There were few men indeed, in whom I would have had more confidence, and none engaged in the inſurrection at whoſe conduct I was ſo much ſurpriſed. I never ſaw Mr. Bradford's hand writing, nor to my knowledge did he ever ſee mine.

I have near relations living in three of the four weſtern counties, and though I had no opportunity of adviſing thoſe of them who lived in enſnaring ſituations, yet I had the ſatisfaction to find, that every one of them had been uniformly oppoſed to the diſorders, and that no friend, with whom I had ever been intimate in any of the counties, was concerned in promoting the diſturbances, except colonel Marſhal, and he withdrew as ſoon perhaps as he durſt. It might have been otherwiſe, and I not to blame.

* It was about the propriety of Congreſs at its next ſeſſion, preparing a previous plan for dividing ſtates ſo as to prevent the parts to be ſeparated from becoming enemies to each other, in a conteſt about the diviſion. At his requeſt, I promiſed to conſider of it, but aſſured him, that the ſenſible citizens in the weſtern counties did not deſire it.

A few days after I arrived in the city, and before the ſecretary returned, a reſpectable gentleman high in office, aſked me, with apparent anxiety, if any thing at all was found againſt me. I anſwered, that there was not; he aſked me if I was certain of that. I told him I was certain there was nothing to be found againſt me. He then aſked me, if I was ſure that none could be procured to perjure themſelves againſt me. I ſaid, I knew nothing about that, and aſked him with ſurpriſe how he came to ſuſpect ſuch a deſign. He ſaid, he knew that no means would be left untried to injure or ruin me.

Until I was informed on the road coming down, of the ſecretary's converſation with ſome of the citizens on his way to Potowmac, and had this information in the city, I did not ſuſpect, that even malice itſelf could have ſuggeſted a ſuſpicion of my conduct; but while all regard to morality and decency was ſacrificed in order to injure ſuch as had done all in their power, firſt to prevent and then to allay the diſturbances, ſuch as had adminiſtered fewel to the flame were in ſome inſtances conſidered and treated as good citizens.

CHAP. XXI.

I HAVE frequently mentioned the official report made by the ſecretary of the treaſury to the Preſident of the United States previous to the iſſuing of his proclamation, and I have had recourſe to it as an authority reſpecting the riots committed againſt revenue officers, not having ever heard of ſeveral of theſe riots through any other channel; at the ſame time, however, I have ſuggeſted that the candour of the report was doubtful, and produced ſome ſtriking inſtances of miſrepreſentation. (See Chap. VIII.) I ſhall now aſſign ſome further inſtances of the ſecretary's want of candour in this report.

In page 113 of the executive proceedings, he mentions the hoſtility of the ſtate officers, and particularly of one high official character, to the execution of the laws, as one of the moſt ſerious obſtacles to their operation, and in a letter to governor Mifflin, which is now before me, in anſwer to a demand made by him for an

explanation of this inſinuation, he aſſerts that Albert Gallatin, then a member of Aſſembly, was of the committee which met at Pittſburgh in September 1791. This is not true. Albert Gallatin and myſelf were attending the Aſſembly of Pennſylvania, then in ſeſſion. In this explanatory letter he ſtates charges againſt ſeveral characters who have been uniformly friends to government; in his charges againſt Mr. Addiſon Preſident of the courts in that diſtrict, the arts of miſrepreſentation are carried to a conſiderable height. I ſhall briefly detail them. The judge refuſed to act as deputy out of the line of his official duty in certain inſtances for the ſuperviſor of the diſtrict, though he at the ſame time aſſured that officer of ample protection and every neceſſary aſſiſtance to enable him to do the duty of his ſtation himſelf; his not having treated the exciſe officers with proper marks of attention, in two inſtances, is another charge; one of the inſtances was his telling the tavern keeper, with whom he lodged, that the man who was then a collector of exciſe was not an acceptable companion in the lodging. The ſecretary did not reflect that that officer might not have been an acceptable companion for the judge, previous to his being an exciſe officer, and that the honours attached to that office were not ſufficient to elevate his character. I will refer him to the judges of the ſupreme court of Pennſylvania for the truth of this remark; they are acquainted with the collector. With reſpect to the inſpector not receiving the marked attention of the Preſident of the court, the ſecretary ſhould have enquired whether there did not exiſt perſonal cauſes abſtracted from his holding the office, or whether there were not ſuch

cauſes exiſting with ſome other of the judges on whom the Preſident had no right to impoſe; for this great crime which was conſidered as a matter of ſuch importance by the ſecretary, was nothing more than the Preſident's neglecting to invite the inſpector to a ſeat on the bench during the ſeſſion of the court, though he had invited a relation of his. None of theſe inſtances happened in the county where I reſide, and the firſt I heard of it was from the ſecretary's official information. I have, however, enquired into them ſince. With ſuch charges as theſe the ſecretary's explanation to the governor of that general ſuggeſtion in his report abounds. Why were not real crimes puniſhed in due time? And why were things of no moment or criminality magnified into real offences?

Preſident Addiſon was early in his endeavours to promote the execution of the exciſe law. For this purpoſe he wrote in the newspapers in the ſummer of 1791, and for the ſame purpoſe he attended at Redſtone old fort on the 27th of July, on the day when it was reſolved by the meeting at that place to petition Congreſs. Though he took no part in the meeting, he was ready to give his advice, or to exert his authority if neceſſary in favour of the laws. I converſed with him on the occaſion and found he was in favour of ſubmiſſion, for which reaſon ſome thought him too friendly to the exciſe. In his charges to the grand juries, he uniformly reprehended the attacks on exciſe officers, and recommended a ſtrict cognizance of the offences, and in all his converſation on this ſubject he teſtified againſt the oppoſition to the law. In the winter previous to the inſurrection an animated pub-

lication in the Pittſburgh gazette exhorting the people to a compliance with the law, was aſcribed to him, and he promoted an agreement among a number of the moſt reſpectable diſtillers to enter their ſtills, on condition of having officers appointed whoſe deportment would be reſpectable (See Chap. v.) I always accounted it a misfortune that he was in Philadelphia when the inſurrection commenced; his advice and authority might have been of great advantage; he was very uſeful in reſtoring order when he returned; he was threatened by the inſurgents before he returned, but this did not prevent him from doing his duty with ſucceſs. At the ſame time that he was obnoxious to the inſurgents, he was the object of the ſecretary's reſentment; in this, however, he was not ſingular. Others, who exerted themſelves to the utmoſt in preventing outrages and reſtoring order, were the peculiar objects of miniſterial perſecution. After all the ſcrutiny that could be made and all the exertions to extort teſtimony, the character of the Preſident and the ſixteen aſſociate judges of the four weſtern counties ſtood unimpeached, except we call the ſecretary's charge of want of politeneſs in two inſtances to exciſe officers a ſufficient cauſe of impeachment. The truth is, that judges and other friends of order were offended at theſe officers for not making more vigilant exertions in the execution of their truſt, and for treating the people rudely, when conciliating manners might have engaged reſpect and promoted ſubmiſſion. Certain it is, that when general Wilkin, who purchaſed whiſkey for the army, though his refuſing to purchaſe any that had not paid the exciſe tax made him partake of the odium at-

tached to the law, yet by his good ſenſe in reaſoning with the people, and by his conciliating manners, he induced many to enter their ſtills in June 1794, and was morally certain of procuring a general acquieſcence at the next opportunity of entering ſtills. The apprehenſion of want of vigilance and conciliating manners in the exciſe officers diſcouraged thoſe who wiſhed the law to be executed from making exertions. Such citizens did not chuſe to be knight-errants in ſupporting a law, the execution of which was ſo much neglected by thoſe whoſe duty it was to enforce obedience to it. However, from the ſecretary's report to the Preſident, and his explanation of it to the governor, it is evident that the revenue officers were vigilant ſpies, not only on the conduct, but the language of the citizens, and very minute in reporting the ſmalleſt expreſſions of diſreſpect to themſelves or the law, unconnected with the circumſtances of provocation on their part to the ſecretary; and that though he was not attentive to puniſh real crimes in the ordinary courſe of law, yet he was very attentive to record incidents of little importance, and arrange them in the moſt criminal dreſs ſuited to his deſign, when the criſis arrived which he probably deſired and promoted. But the information, though minute, was not accurate. This is uſual with the information of ſpies in all countries. The report contains ſeveral other inſtances of miſrepreſentation with reſpect to incidents too trifling to be inveſtigated, which I ſhall paſs unnoticed; one contained in the laſt paragraph of it, however, is of too much importance to eſcape remark. His words are: "There is too juſt cauſe to believe that this is connected

with an indiſpoſition, too general in that quarter, to ſhare in the common burthens of the community, and with a wiſh among ſome perſons of influence, to embarraſs the government. It is affirmed by well informed perſons to be a fact of notoriety, that the revenue laws of the ſtate itſelf have *always* either been reſiſted, or very defectively complied with in the ſame quarter."

This is ſo palpable a miſrepreſentation, as to require but little examination to refute. I appeal to the records of the ſtate treaſury; there it will appear that notwithſtanding the almoſt ceaſeleſs diſtreſſes of the weſtern counties, ſome of them have always been the foremoſt in paying their ſtate taxes of any counties in the commonwealth, and none of them the moſt backward, and that if there are any arrears remaining due it is on the unſeated lands, the property of people in the city or other parts of the ſtate, the collecting of which has been prevented by ſpecial interpoſitions of the legiſlature. If he had deſired to be well informed, it would have been eaſy for him to have conſulted the treaſury department of the ſtate, and if he had applied to the land office, he would have found that the efficient revenue produced by it has been more promptly paid by the people of the weſtern counties, than by many in more favourable ſituations. If he had been in purſuit of truth he would have applied to the proper ſources to obtain it. Another object however was in view. It was neceſſary to load the whole people of the weſtern country, with every deſcription of odium. God knows, too many of them were blameable indeed, but that the revenue laws of the ſtate have been *always*

either reſiſted or defectively complied with, and that this was promoted by a wiſh of ſome perſons of influence to embarraſs the government, or as he expreſſes it, (Report p. 110) the enmity which certain active deſigning leaders had induſtriouſly infuſed into a large proportion of the inhabitants, not againſt particular laws only, but of more ancient date, againſt the government of the United States, are charges abſolutely void of truth.

I never heard a perſon either in public or private in that country expreſs a ſentiment againſt the government of the United States ſince it was ratified, except what fell from Bradford at the Redſtone meeting, and ſo far from having old enmity, he was a moſt zealous federaliſt. There were none engaged in the inſurrection that ever poſſeſſed extenſive influence in that country, except colonel Marſhal, and he had never been diſtinguiſhed for political fervor.

Why did not the ſecretary name the perſons and ſtate the facts. If he knew that ſuch influential perſons had induſtriouſly infuſed enmity againſt the government into a large proportion of the inhabitants, he muſt have known who they were, and what induſtry they uſed. Indeed the whole of theſe ſuggeſtions are mere fabrications, publiſhed at a critical period for the moſt nefarious purpoſes. No teſtimony to this purpoſe could be procured by all the influence which was exerted even under all the terrors of an armed force, neither could any proofs of it be obtained on the moſt careful and judicious ſcrutiny, made under the di-

rection of the circuit courts. It exiſted no where but in the fruitful invention of the ex-ſecretary himſelf.

Before I leave the ſecretary's report, I will make one other quotation form it page 117, where he ſays: "It is not to be doubted that the different ſtages of this buſineſs were regularly notified to the malcontents, and that a conviction of the tendency of the amendments contemplated to effectuate the execution of the law, had matured the reſolution to bring matters to a violent criſis."

This inſidious aſſertion was no donbt levelled againſt Mr. Smilie, and myſelf, then in Congreſs. There were no others from the weſtern countryin the city who had an opportunity; and the ſecretary's numerous declarations that we were at the bottom of all the diſturbances, and that he had proofs againſt Mr. Gallatin and us already, his illegal endeavours to extort teſtimony againſt us in the weſtern country, his inſulting the peoplethere for electing us into Congreſs, and employing his friend general White to ſpread falſehoods againſt us, particularly againſt myſelf, was ſufficiently explanatory of his intention in the paragraph juſt quoted. I have already ſtated that I never was acquainted in the part of the country where the diſturbances originated, nor had correſponded even by letter with any perſon who had been concerned either in promoting or countenancing the diſturbances, except James Marſhal a conſiderable time before. I am authoriſed to make the ſame declaration reſpecting Mr. Smilie. Mr. Gallatin was not then in Philadelphia. I had correſpondents in Waſhington county, whoſe

friendſhip I value, and whoſe conduct during the diſturbances and previous to their commencement does them honour.

I remember to have received letters from three diſtillers that ſpring, and anſwering them ; that theſe diſtillers were not concerned in the inſurrection, except in oppoſing it, is a ſufficient juſtification of my correſpondence ; they were William Todd, Eſquire, a judge of the court, Mr. John Dennifton, and my brother John Findley. Indeed I had no uſeful information reſpecting the exciſe law to write ; the bill to which the ſecretary alludes, he acknowledges was not enacted till the fifth of June, and until the laſt reading in the Houſe. I was induced by information from the treaſury department to believe, that the exciſe would be turned into a direct tax on ſtills, and an amendment to that purpoſe was tranſmitted from the treaſury department to the chairman of the committee which brought in the bill, while it was under diſcuſſion in the Houſe, but he did not ſee cauſe to move for its adoption. If I had correſponded with the people who unfortunately commenced the inſurrection, I flatter myſelf that I would have contributed by removing their miſtakes to have prevented their exceſſes. I am ſure all with whom I have correſponded will bear witneſs that that would have been my endeavour.

When we reflect that the law in queſtion authoriſed the ſtate courts to take cognizance of offences againſt the United States, that long before it was enacted the ſecretary had procured writs to be iſſued out of the diſtrict court to compel the appearance of delinquent diſtillers at Philadelphia, and delayed to have theſe writs

executed until harveſt, after the people had been gratified with the reaſonable expectations of having their ſuppoſed delinquency examined in the vicinity of their reſidence, and that theſe writs, the execution of which produced the inſurrection, were made returnable in a manner or at a time which rendered them of no effect ; I ſay when theſe circumſtances are candidly reflected on, the reader will be able to decide for himſelf, whether there is not as ſolid ground, as the nature of the caſe can be ſuppoſed to admit, to conclude that the ſecretary himſelf at this period contemplated and planned to promote the violent criſis which took place. By his own account we find he was regularly informed by his ſpies of the moſt minute circumſtances of the clandeſtine outrages, and conducted his plan in a manner the beſt calculated to excite an open rupture. If this was not his deſign, why did he not uſe the proper means of reſtraining offences in ſeaſon, and why did he not cauſe the proceſs to be ſerved ſooner, and at a more convenient ſeaſon, or otherwiſe make an experiment of the ſucceſs of the ſtate courts ?

The great error among the people was an opinion, that an immoral law might be oppoſed and yet the government reſpected, and all the other laws obeyed, and they firmly believed that the exciſe law was an immoral one. This theory became with many a religious principle, in defence of which they reaſoned with conſiderable addreſs. In endeavouring to reſtore order, and ſubmiſſion to the laws, the moſt arduous

taſk with people otherwiſe of good morals was to convince them of the error of this principle. As no riots that I knew of were attempted in the county where I reſide, or by the people of it previous to the inſurrection, and as I had never heard any perſon threaten any other kind of oppoſition than laying aſide their ſtills, I conſequently knew nothing of this principle being entertained till the inſurrection took place; but I then found it to be one of the greateſt obſtacles to people even of good underſtanding ſigning ſuch aſſurances as might imply an approbation of the law. Indeed I deſpair that people, reſiding in ſituations where exciſes, applying directly to agriculture, demand two or three times the quantum of tax in proportion to the price in the market for the produce of their farm, that the farmers in more favourable ſituations have to pay, can ever be brought to approve of ſuch a law by any methods in the power of government. Their objections are obvious and eaſily comprehended, and addreſs themſelves powerfully to their intereſts; whereas the arguments ariſing from the unequal preſſure of impoſts on the inhabitants of towns, and people generally who manufacture little themſelves, and conſequently conſume much of foreign manufactures or luxuries, not coming under their obſervation, are not underſtood nor admitted in abatement of their own complaints; conſequently the citizens in ſituations remote from market are advocates for direct taxes, proportioned to the value of property, and always pay them without complaint. To explain the operation

of other taxes, which tended to an abatement of the preſſure of the exciſe tax, and the inequality which would ariſe from apportioning direct taxes according to the conſtitutional rule, was the great object of thoſe who endeavoured to reconcile the people to the exciſe law. There were circumſtances however which could not be accomodated to the principles of juſtice. Theſe were balanced with political conſiderations.

CHAP XXII.

TWO important queſtions have agitated the public mind, which the facts ſtated in this work, by being judiciouſly compared, will aſſiſt the reader in determining. The firſt is, whether or not the inſurrection was the reſult of a previous combination or preconcerted plan. The ſecond is, whether or not the march of an army into the country was neceſſary for procuring ſubmiſſion to the laws, protection to the revenue officers, and obtaining proper ſubjects for atonement. About theſe there has been a great variety of opinion.

With reſpect to the firſt, the ſecretary, in his report and otherwiſe, has taken ſo much pains to impreſs the public mind with an opinion that ſtate officers uſed the weight of their official influence in promoting *combinations and hoſtility againſt* the laws, that even members of Congreſs had been employed in maturing the reſolution to bring matters to a *violent criſis*, and

this opinion has been ſo induſtriouſly promoted in the army and throughout the United States by various means, that notwithſtanding it has not been ſupported by a ſingle well atteſted fact, the impreſſion that has been made by it is not yet fully removed. By the relation I have given, however, it will appear, that the inſurrection commenced without any preconcert among the people, and aroſe from an event which they could not have foreſeen; that even thoſe, whoſe names afterwards made the greateſt figure in the inſurrection, were not privy to its commencement; that if the marſhal had ſerved the remaining writ without waiting to go to Pittſburgh and bring the inſpector along with him, he would have met with no interruption in the diſcharge of his duty, and the diſtillers would have entered for their appearance at Philadelphia, however diſtreſſing and unexpected ſuch a journey might have been to them. It is evident that if he had conducted in this manner, the laſt writ might have been ſerved before the evening on which the militia were rendezvouſed at the appeal, and that if the inſpector had not come out with the marſhal and put himſelf unneceſſarily in the way, the attack on him would not have happened; and that if he had not raſhly firſt attacked the party of young fellows, who came the firſt morning to his houſe, and killed and wounded a number of them, the ſecond and moſt formidable attempt would not have been made; and further, that if even on the ſecond attempt the papers had been given up, or the houſe had been permitted to have been ſearched for them by a few men ſelected for that purpoſe, the party would have diſperſed, the ſubſequent meetings would not

have taken place, and the rioters would have been profecuted individually with ſucceſs before the ſtate courts, as they had been for the riot committed on the ſtate exciſemen.

So far were the judges of the county courts, or the preſiding judge of the diſtrict, from being in a combination againſt the execution of the law, that on a ſcrutiny, no doubt the more ſevere, that the former ſupervifor and the ſecretary of the treaſury had prejudged their character, it appeared to full conviction that they were without exception friendly to the execution of the laws. It is certain that a profecution never failed for want of ſufficient zeal in the courts; the difficulty was to find evidence. It will appear ſurpriſing that when the revenue officers could give ſuch minute and circumſtantial information to the ſecretary, which he details in his report, and more minutely in his explanatory letter to the governor, that theſe ſame officers could never produce teſtimony to the ſtate courts to enable them to puniſh breaches of the peace againſt themſelves; and that even the teſtimony which they produced to ſupport profecutions in the federal courts was either evidently fabricated or doubtful. It is acknowledged that the teſtimony they procured againſt Kerr and Beer, was abſolutely falſe. It is not leſs certain that the teſtimony given againſt Robert Smilie was unfounded, and it is the general opinion that the teſtimony produced againſt M'Culloch and ſome others was equally unworthy of credit.

If the inſurrection had been the reſult of a preconcerted plan, ſome diſcovery of it would have been found by the commiſſioners of the United States and

of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, while in the weſtern country, but ſo far was this from being the caſe that the commiſſioners ſent by the Preſident of the United States to the weſtern country, in their report, which, though conciſe, gives an intelligent and candid account of the temper and ſituation of the country until the day of ſigning the amneſty, and a relation of many of the grievances of which the people complained, yet does not give the leaſt countenance to the opinion that the inſurrection was the reſult of a preconcerted plan, or that the ſtate courts had been defective in their duty, or the judges, &c. oppoſed to the execution of the laws, and it was on the information given in this report that the army was ordered to rendezvous. It is printed in the proceedings of the executive, and perfectly agrees with the preceding relation as far as it enters into the ſubject.

The Report of the ſtate commiſſioners, who acted in concert with the commiſſioners of the United States, is not printed, but I have an authenticated copy of it before me. It is contained in a ſeries of letters written from the weſtern country to the governor, and preſerved on files in the ſecretary's office. As it is not in print I will give ſome extracts from it. In page 2, the commiſſioners give the following ſtatement.

"The marſhal of the diſtrict of Pennſylvania had proceſs to ſerve on divers perſons reſiding in the counties of Fayette and Allegany, and executed them all (above thirty) without moleſtation or difficulty, excepting one which was againſt a Mr. Shaw. He or ſome other perſon went to the place where doctor Beard, the brigade inſpector for Waſhington county

was hearing appeals made by ſome of a battallion which had been called upon for its proportion of the eighty thouſand men required to be in readineſs agreeably to an act of congreſs. There were upwards of fifty there with their fire-arms, to whom it was related that the federal ſheriff, (as they ſtyled the marſhal) had been ſerving writs in Allegany county and carrying the people to Philadelphia, for not complying with the exciſe laws, and that he was at general Nevil's houſe. It was in the night of the——of laſt month; between thirty and forty flew inſtantly to their arms, and marched towards Mr. Nevil's above twelve miles diſtant, where they appeared early next morning.—— The delinquents againſt whom the Marſhal had proceſs told him that they would enter their ſtills, and pay him the exciſe together with the coſt of ſuit. Major Lenox applauded their prudent conduct, and told them that though he had not authority to comply with their wiſhes, yet, if they would enter their ſtills with the inſpector, and procure his certificate, and ſend it to Philadelphia, upon payment of the money due with the coſts he was perſuaded all further proſecution would be ſtayed. If this detail is true, it is evident that the outrages committed at Mr. Nevil's houſe were not owing to deliberate preconcerted meaſures, but originated in an unbridled guſt of paſſion artfully raiſed among young men, who may have been at the time too much heated with ſtrong drink."

In their third letter the commiſſioners, ſtating the diſappointment of their expectations from the meeting at Redſtone old Fort, occaſioned by an armed party,

and the outrageous behaviour of Mr. Bradford, thus expreſs themſelves: "From our beſt conjecture the people of Waſhington if governed by what appears to be the majority, will prefer a civil war to a ſubmiſſion to the exciſe laws, ſo infatuated and frantic are their leaders in oppoſition; a great majority, however, of the other three counties, are friends to peace and order."

To explain this character of Waſhington county, it is to be remarked that it was believed that the armed party whoſe preſence and behaviour terrified the meeting came there from Waſhington county, in concert with Bradford, for that purpoſe. I was preſent, and believed this to be the caſe, until afterwards that it was fully proved that the company in arms knew nothing of the meeting being held there, till they were near the ground, and that their whole object was to pay an unfriendly viſit to Mr. Jackſon. I heard the man, who I am ſince informed was the leader of the party, cenſure Bradford's harrangue while he was delivering it to the meeting; yet it is certain the ſpirit of oppoſition was ſtronger in a part of that county then in any other place.

In their fourth and laſt letter, written from Bedford when the commiſſioners were on their return, they ſay "Upon the whole we entertain a reaſonable hope that the great maſs of the people will comply with the terms propoſed, and be dutiful citizens in future, and that their example and influence will in a few days prevail on moſt of the reſidue to do the ſame. However it muſt not be concealed that there are ſeveral unruly and turbulent ſpirits, who will require correction and puniſhment, and theſe men having little or no property to loſe, may poſſibly create new diſturbances.

Should our opinion prove to be well founded, it is probable the ordinary courſe of judicial powers may be ſufficient to reduce them to ſubmiſſion and order, without military aid."

The commiſſioners of the Union and of the ſtate, concurred in their conſultations and meaſures; as far as there was any difference, the chief juſtice was the moſt ſevere; he wanted to have the committees to ſign aſſurances individually at the firſt, and to have the power of the civil magiſtrate, put to the teſt without delay. Though this was complained of at the time, as too ſevere, the people were afterwards convinced that he was for their good; in one inſtance, he urged a juſtice of the peace to exert his authority, and he did it with ſucceſs.

The reſult of the ſcrutiny made by the judiciary, aided by the terrors of the army, the diſpenſing power of the commander in chief, and the artful and arbitrary conduct of the ſecretary, and alſo the examinations of numerous witneſſes before the circuit court held at Philadelphia and York, agree in proving to a demonſtration, the truth of the opinion given by the commiſſioners, that *the outrages committed at Mr. Nevil's houſe, were not owing to deliberate preconcerted meaſures, but originated in an unbridled guſt of paſſion, &c.*

With reſpect to the ſecond queſtion, viz. whether the march of an army into the weſtern country was neceſſary, &c. I have already expreſſed my own opinion that it was not neceſſary for the objects propoſed, and in this I was ſupported by that of well informed perſons who knew the ſtate of the country better than I did myſelf. I have been particular in my

enquiries of the ſame and other well informed perſons, a year ſince the inſurrection, and though it is the opinion of ſome individuals, that the ſubmiſſion to the laws by ſome of the moſt obſtinate people ſouth of the Monongahela, was ſooner accompliſhed and rendered more compleat by the march of the army into the country, than it would otherwiſe have been; yet it is agreed by all, with whom I have converſed on the ſubject, that in all other parts of the country the ſubmiſſion would have been compleat without it. The greater number of well informed perſons, however, believe that it would have been compleat in all the counties, but this fact cannot now be aſcertained with preciſion. It is certain, that the ſtate courts were at no time interrupted, and that they have ſince ſentenced to correction and puniſhment ſuch as they thought deſerved it for offences committed during the diſturbances, with as little difficulty as at any other time, indeed, I never knew of a proceſs from a juſtice of the peace reſiſted even in the time of the inſurrection, and the magiſtrates had in many places proceeded againſt offenders without reſiſtance, before the army left Carliſle. In the places where the diſturbances prevailed, the alarm and terror was ſo great as to render it imprudent, if not impracticable, to execute the laws of the ſtate, until the agitation would ſubſide, and till the friends of order could know and put confidence in each other.

But after all, I do not conclude that it was improper in the Preſident to order the army to advance into the country. I have no doubt, but that if he had received the ſame aſſurances before the different diviſions

of the army had rendezvouſed, which he did at Carliſle, he would not have ordered the army to march; but he muſt have judged the aſſurance; to have been in a higher degree unequivocal, than could be procured in ſo ſhort a time, to have convinced him of the propriety of putting a ſtop to the expedition when it was ſo far advanced; for however confident Mr. Redick and myſelf were, who drew our information from our own obſervations, and the obſervations of others in whom we had perfect confidence, taken on the ſpot, yet as the Preſident had not the opportunity of making obſervations for himſelf, we could not expect his confidence to be ſo compleat or ſo firmly eſtabliſhed as ours.

The difficulty that had been experienced in raiſing the army at the firſt, and the eagerneſs diſcovered by the officers and others at Carliſle to march into the weſtern counties, muſt have had its weight with the Preſident in determining him to carry forward the expedition. He might reaſonably conclude, that bad conſequences in future might reſult from diſguſting them, by what thoſe of greateſt influence might think a premature diſcharge. As he mixed every day with the army, in order to impreſs it with a proper ſenſe of the importance of ſubordination to the laws, it is not to be doubted, but that he availed himſelf of this opportunity of diſcovering its diſpoſition, and that his determination was in ſome meaſure influenced by that diſpoſition; nor is it to be doubted, but that the advice of ſecretary Hamilton, and his influence with the army, were exerted in favour of carrying on the expedition.

His information and advice were calculated to promote that object from the firſt.

The Preſident, however, did not conſider the number of the army, nor its advance into the weſtern country, as deſtined excluſively for reſtoring ſubmiſſion to the laws, or coercing offenders in that quarter; the flame had caught in other places, and diſcontents prevailed and liberty poles were erected, through a great extent of country, on the eaſt ſide of the mountains, and a riſing had actually taken place in the ſtate of Maryland. It was theſe untoward circumſtances which prevented the Preſident from giving longer time for the people in the weſtern counties to reſtore order by their own efforts; for further information on this ſubject, the chapters which deſcribe the temper of the army at Carliſle, and the communications of the Preſident to the commiſſioners from the Parkiſon ferry meeting, may be examined.

I have ſuggeſted oftener than once, that the head of the revenue department conducted the execution of the law in the weſtern diſtrict, in a manner that was calculated to promote the event that happened. To ſupport a ſuggeſtion of this nature, poſitive proof cannot be obtained; to me, however, it appears better eſtabliſhed than could reaſonably have been expected; from the means I had uſed to promote a due execution of the law, and the obſervations I had made on the manner in which it was conducted, I had ſuſpected his deſign, and for ſome time looked forward to the event with dread; but in the ſpring of 1794, when competent powers were veſted in the ſtate courts, my proſpects

brightened, and I blamed myſelf for my ſuſpicions. But the mine was ready to be ſprung, when I had flattered myſelf that the danger was over. I will not however, recapitulate the grounds upon which my opinion was founded, but leave the reader to examine and compare the facts for himſelf, and judge of the reſult. The facts are truly ſtated.

APPENDIX.

WHEN the President received the information of the daring outrage committed at the house of the Inspector, he held a conference with the heads of the departments of the federal government, and the governor and law officers of the state of Pennsylvania, and though no record is preserved of the sentiments expressed on that occasion, yet it is known, that the chief justice of the state, gave it as his opinion, that the power of the judiciary should be further exerted, and have a full and fair trial, before it would be proper to employ a military force, and that the governor and law officers of the state, and the secretary of state of the United States, concurred with him in that opinion. In support of this opinion, the governor made a communication to the President in writing, dated the 5th of August, 1794. The correspondence which commenced with this letter, is to be found in the executive proceedings, from page 58 to 98.

In this communication, after stating the outrages that had taken place, together with their special circumstances, the governor proceeds to remark "that whatever construction may be given on the part of the United States, to the facts that have been recited, I cannot hesitate to declare, on the part of Pennsylvania, that the incompetency of the judiciary departme:

of her government, to vindicate the violated laws, has not at this period been ſufficiently apparent, and that the military power of the government ought not to be employed until its judiciary authority, after a fair experiment, has proved incompetent to enforce obedience, or to puniſh infractions of the laws."

After ſtating the principles on which the military force can with propriety be called forth, in aid of the civil authority, he proceeds to ſay: "Experience furniſhes the ſtrongeſt inducements to my mind, for perſevering in this lenient courſe. Riots have heretofore been committed in oppoſition to the laws of Pennſylvania, but the rioters have invariably been puniſhed by our courts of juſtice. In oppoſition to the laws of the United States, in oppoſition to the very laws now oppoſed, and in the very counties ſuppoſed to be combined in the preſent oppoſition, riots have likewiſe occurred, but in every inſtance, ſupported by legal proof, the offenders have been indicted, convicted and puniſhed before the tribunals of the ſtate. This reſult does not announce a defect of juriſdiction, a want of judicial power, or diſpoſition to puniſh infractions of the law; a neceſſity of an appeal from the political to the phyſical ſtrength of the nation.

"But another principle of policy deſerves ſome conſideration. In a free country it muſt be expedient to convince the citizens of the neceſſity that ſhall at any time induce the government to employ the coercive authority with which it is inveſted. To convince them, that it is neceſſary to call forth the military power, for the purpoſe of executing the laws, it muſt be ſhown, that the judicial power has in vain attempted to puniſh thoſe who violate them, and therefore thinking, as I do, that the incompeteney of the power of Pennſylvania has not been ſufficiently aſcertained, I remarked in the courſe of our late conference, that I did not think it would be an eaſy taſk to embody the militia on the preſent occaſion."

In the conference, the governor had been called on to order out the militia of the ſtate, in purſuance of a law of the ſtate which was ſuppoſed to exiſt, but which, on examination, was

found to be repealed. The propriety of ordering out a military force was then ſuggeſted to him, in conſequence of his general power to enforce the due execution of the laws. The diſcuſſion of this principle produced the correſpondence, from which I have made theſe quotations.

The ſecretary of ſtate of the United States, in his reply to the governor's firſt letter, does not ſo much object to the principles advanced by the governor, as to his opinion reſpecting the exiſting circumſtances, and after ſtating the facts and reciting the certificate from the judge, which had been newly obtained, he ſays, "Thus then, is it unequivocally and in due form aſcertained in reference to the gove rnment of the United States, that the judiciary authority, after a fair and full experiment, ha s proved incompetent to enforce obedience to, or to puniſh infractions of, the laws—that the ſtrength and audacity of certain lawleſs combinations have baffled and deſtroyed the efforts of the judiciary authority, to recover penalties or inflict puniſhments, and that this authority by a regular notification of this ſtate of things, has in the laſt reſort, as an auxiliary of the civil authority, claimed the intervention of the military power of the United States," &c.

In the progreſs of this correſpondence, the ſecretary of ſtate of the United States informs the governor, that the queſtion unequivocally was, if he as the executive of the ſtate has power to put the militia in motion, previous to a requiſition from the Preſident under the laws of the United States, if it ſhould be thought adviſable ſo to do, &c. This queſtion being thus explicitly ſtated in the laſt letter to the governor, and the actual requiſition of the militia rendering a reply unneceſſary and calling the governor's attention from the ſubject, we have to regret the want of his anſwer to it. But if I underſtand him rightly in the preceding letters, he did not conceive that he was juſtified by the conſtitutional power veſted in him, in calling out the militia, unleſs he was convinced in his own judgment that the judiciary authority was incompetent to vindicate the violated laws, or was called on to do ſo by a formal requiſi-

tion from the President of the United States. In vindication of that opinion, he suggests, that the President's responsibility is shielded by the interposition of the opinion of a judge of the supreme court, certified according to law, which the governor's is not.

The governor says, that it is certain that at the time of the conference there was no satisfactory evidence of the incompetency of the judicial authority, to vindicate the violated laws, and that therefore he could not as the executive magistrate proceed to a military plan.

The secretary in behalf of the President disclaims his being under an obligation to judge of the validity of the testimony himself, and manifests his determination to depend on the decision made by the proper authority, viz. the opinion of a district or associate judge, to whose responsibility he solely referred the competency of the testimony. Judge Wilson who gave the official certificate which made it lawful for the President to aid the judicial authority by military force, did so on his own opinion of the validity of the testimony that was laid before him by the executive. There were no witnesses examined, nor depositions transmitted; some private letters containing information of the facts and the general notoriety of the outrages were considered as sufficient vouchers on which to ground the judge's certificate, and this certificate was the authority which warranted the military expedition.

It must be admitted, that in times of public confusion and danger the obtaining of legal testimony would sometimes be attended with too much delay, and that in such cases the notoriety of the facts supersedes the necessity of legal forms; still however, there is danger of mistakes, and it is certain, that the President and associate judge, were imposed on with respect to some material facts respecting the riots, until a scrutiny was made by the circuit court. Some of these impositions were too deeply impressed on the public mind by the report of the secretary of the treasury, in which they were sanctioned by his official authority, but expressly contradicted by unexceptionable testimony taken before the court.

The chief juſtice with the concurrence of the other law officers of Pennſylvania, at the conference, firſt ſuggeſted the plan of ſending commiſſioners to the weſtern counties, and in aquieſcence with this advice, he and general Irwin were appointed by the governor to that ſervice. Though in a letter by the ſecretary of the 7th Auguſt, the Preſident objects to the governor's opinion, that a further trial of the power of the judiciary ſhould be made, before the aid of the military force was required, yet he ſays, "that to manifeſt his attention to the principle that a firm and energetic conduct does not preclude the exerciſe of prudent and humane policy he has (as the governor has been alſo adviſed) concluded on the meaſure of ſending commiſſioners to the diſcontented counties to make one more experiment of a conciliatory appeal to the reaſon, virtue, and patriotiſm of their inhabitants, and has alſo ſignified to you how agreeable would be to him your co-operation in the ſame expedient, which you have been pleaſed to afford."

This intereſting correſpondence chiefly embraces two ſubjects of controverſy, viz. the reſponſibility of the executives of the union and of the commonwealth, and the incompetency of the judicial authority, which is affirmed in behalf of the Preſident, and objected to by the governor. Without deciding poſitively betwixt the two opinions, it is worth obſerving, that though the law firſt provided for ſending ſpecial ſeſſions of the court into the delinquent country, and afterwards veſted the authority in the ſtate courts, yet the competency of neither one nor the other of theſe methods preſcribed by law was ever put to the teſt, and that all the trial that had been made of the competency of the judicial authority was by the marſhal ſerving the proceſſes, which gave riſe to the inſurrection, and that even in this caſe, that officer ſerved thirty nine writs without moleſtation, to thirty four of which at leaſt a proper ſubmiſſion was teſtified, and that reſiſtance was offered only in one caſe out of forty, and not till the obnoxious inſpector aſſiſted with his preſence, and till the laſt caſe. It is true, a deputy marſhal was

ſent two years before, but influenced by the advice of the inſpector and his own fears, he did not attempt to exerciſe his authority; a ſheriff of the county, or probably a marſhal of good character reſiding in the country, could at any time have executed writs; it has been obſerved, that ſheriff Hamilton propoſed to do it even in the time of the inſurrection. The reader will judge, whether this was a fair and full trial of the incompetency of the judiciary, as aſſerted in the name of the Preſident.

If the judiciary authority had been exerciſed agreeably to the proviſions made by law, I am confident no inſurrection, nor reſiſtance would ever have happened, and if in addition to ſending commiſſioners the governor had ſo far riſked his reſponſibility, as to have embodied a ſquadron of light horſe and marched into the weſtern counties, order would have been reſtored without the aid of any other force; this would have been a center for thoſe who were timid and well diſpoſed to rally round, and would ſooner have produced a diſcrimation of parties; it would alſo have afforded protection and given confidence to the civil magiſtrate, in places where the ſpirit of oppoſition had the aſcendant, and encouraged the orderly citizens in all parts of the country. I will not aſſert that the governor had competent authority for this purpoſe, but I cannot refrain from expreſſing a wiſh that he had conſtrued his powers to have extended ſo far, and truſted ſomething to the diſcretion of the legiſlature afterwards.

However, it muſt be admitted in behalf of the governor, that he had little time for reflection; for the deciſive certificate was procured from the aſſociate judge the next day after the conference, at which it was propoſed to the governor to call out the militia under his own authority.

The citizens of Ohio and Monongahela counties in Virginia had been earneſtly ſolicited by circular letters from Mr. Bradford, who believed he had influence among them, to join in the inſurrection, or at all events to attend the Parkiſon meeting, and give their advice. He no doubt expected them

to ſtrengthen his party at that meeting in order to form a combination againſt the authority of the government. Three delegates attended from Ohio county at this and at the Redſtone meeting, but I have not been informed what part they acted; it appears, they waited on the commiſſioners at Pittſburgh, along with the firſt committee of twelve. The commiſſioners informed them that they had no authority out of the fourth ſurvey of Pennſylvania, but at the ſame time encouraged them to expect no further trouble for indictable offences, if they gave aſſurances of ſubmiſſion to the laws for themſelves, and in behalf of thoſe by whom they had been delegated. They ſeem to have been ſent but by a few people, and I do not find, that any thing further was done reſpecting them. There had been but one riot committed there; the collector of the revenue appears to have given up his papers to the rioters without reſiſtance; therefore, there were no inſtances of flagrant outrage. The averſion poſſeſſed by the citizens of thoſe counties of Virginia to the government and laws of Pennſylvania, and to the people of it near them, occaſioned by the territorial conteſt, had a good effect in preventing a union in the preſent oppoſition.

Before the army left the weſtern country, a ſeparate corps conſiſting of not more than 2,500 was raiſed for a term, not exceeding three months. They encamped near the Monongahela on the ſouth ſide, under the command of general Morgan. This meaſure was ſanctioned by a law, dated November 29th, 1794. The object of continuing this force in the country was *to cauſe the laws to be duly executed*, they were partly raiſed out of the corps that were employed in the expedition, and partly inliſted in the country; many of the laſt were ſaid to have been the moſt troubleſome of the inſurgents: I was not acquainted with any of them, and as they encamped near forty miles from where I reſide, though they remained a conſiderable time in the country after I returned from Congreſs, I heare little more of them than if they had not been in the country,

The people in that part of the country, however, complain, that many of them for ſome time at firſt, demanded free quarters and ſuch things as they ſtood in need of without pay, and that ſome of the officers committed indictable offences; but when the perſons, againſt whom the offences were committed, commenced proſecutions, they ſettled the diſputes amicably, and behaved well for the future. And when the people took courage to refuſe to ſubmit to impoſitions, the ſoldiers ceaſed to demand free quarters or to be otherwiſe troubleſome.

Before the army left the country, the commander in chief preſcribed the form of an oath which he required the juſtices of the peace to adminiſter to the citizens, whom he commanded to appear indiſcriminately before the magiſtrates for that purpoſe. It was taken by a number of people in Pittſburgh, and I am informed by a few in ſome other places. How general Lee came to aſſume the high legiſlative authority, neceſſary for enacting an oath of allegiance and requiring the magiſtrates to adminiſter and the people to ſwear it, I never have been informed; it is not contained in the Preſident's inſtructions to him, nor had the conſtitution veſted the Preſident with authority of that kind. General Lee muſt have known, that a magiſtrate had no authority to adminiſter an oath, that the law did not preſcribe. The people generally through the counties, however, paid no reſpect to theſe orders.

Previous to the return of the army, he iſſued a proclamation agreeably to the Preſident's inſtructions, to ſtop all proſecutions againſt the inſurgents, except certain perſons therein named. Several of the excepted perſons afterwards gave themſelves up to general Morgan and ſtood their trial, and were acquitted. Bradford and a few others left the country, and have not to my knowledge returned again. Thoſe from Cumberland and Northumberland counties, who were indicted for erecting liberty poles, &c. had their trial put off till the ſeſſions of the circuit court, held at Philadelphia, in April, 1796, and then the proſecution was withdrawn by the diſtrict attorney. In ſome counties, on both ſides of the mountain, thoſe

who erected liberty poles were heavily fined by the ſtate courts.

Before the ſecretary of the treaſury left the army, he made arrangements for ſettling with the delinquent diſtillers. He directed that they ſhould be permitted to enter their ſtills on paying arrearages according to the capacity of the ſtills, for the year that commenced in June 1793, and for the current year: It was ſome time in December, before theſe arrangements were made known. Many complied with the terms and entered their ſtills, and ſome left them with the collector, not having wherewith to pay his demands. Some in Weſtmoreland, and perhaps in other counties, abſolutely refuſed to pay the arrearages for 1793, but offered to pay for the current year, and enter their ſtills, but the money was not received and permiſſion to enter their ſtills was refuſed. They demanded permiſſion to enter their ſtills again in June 1795, and were refuſed. They however continued to employ their ſtills, and wiſh a deciſion at law; they ſay, they were always willing to ſubmit, but had not opportunity to enter their ſtills. All the diſtillers complain of being obliged to pay the arrearages of 1793, becauſe they had not an opportunity of charging it to the owner who had his grain diſtilled, or laying it on the conſumer according to the intention of the law. Some were making attempts to ſue for the recovery of what they had paid. Thoſe who ſtand out againſt paying the arrearages, are moſtly men of information and property, and they believe the ſecretary had no authority by law to admit entries at any time, but that which the law preſcribes, nor any legal power to refuſe entries of ſtills, on any conditions made by his own authority. Subpœnas were ſerved on theſe delinquent diſtillers laſt ſummer; but after they had appeared at two courts, no proſecution was commenced.

Permiſſion to enter ſtills had been refuſed at the inſpecting offices, the firſt or ſecond day after the month of June expired, immediately preceding the inſurrection. What a pity it was, that if the entry of ſtills could be admitted at the diſcre-

tion of an executive officer in December, that the ſame diſcretion had not been exerciſed early in the month of July.

As no perſon near where I reſide was diſturbed by the army, nor proſecuted by the judiciary, there is no complaint, on their own account; but on enquiry I find that in the parts of the country were people againſt whom there was no charge were taken priſoners and dragged to Pittſburgh, and ſeveral of them to Philadelphia, there is much heart burning. I have converſed with ſome men of influence, who were at all times the warmeſt friends of government, who acknowledge that their confidence in, and love of, the government, is much abated. I mention theſe circumſtances to ſhew how much better it would have been to have made a ſeaſonable and energetic uſe of the ordinary powers of government, before things came to ſuch a criſis as to require ſuch extraordinary remedies, as can ſcarcely be ſo conducted but that they will create ſome new grounds of complaint. Every other means ſhould be uſed to the utmoſt before a militia army is raiſed; for if they are frequently called forth, or called forth on a ſervice which they find not to have been abſolutely neceſſary, or the neceſſity of which they think might have been prevented, it will not be eaſy to rouſe them again when the public intereſt may require it; in this caſe a ſtanding army may become neceſſary, and I know a ſtanding army is not the wiſh of the people of the United States, and hope it will long be unneceſſary.

In one year ſince the inſurrection the weſtern ſurvey of Pennſylvania has remitted to the treaſury about 20,000 dollars of exciſe tax. This amounts to one fifth of the nett revenue raiſed in one year on ſpirits diſtilled from domeſtic materials in the whole United States. It is true this includes the arrearages ariſing from the preceding year. Of theſe I do not know the amount; but when it is conſidered that many left their ſtills with the collector rather than pay the arrearages, and that others preferred ſtanding an action which is not yet decided, the greater part muſt be ſet to the account of the year 1795. If other parts of the union paid in the ſame pro-

portion as to the number, without calculating on the wealth of the inhabitants, the aggregate amount would be little ſhort of a million of dollars annually.

Whatſoever difference of opinion might have exiſted as to the policy of the meaſure when the exciſe law was enacted, there could be but one opinion among diſpaſſionate citizens with reſpect to the impolicy of repealing it on the account of a riotous oppoſition in a part of one ſmall ſurvey, while that mode of oppoſition continued, and all other parts of the union profeſſedly ſubmitted; but now when the authority of the law is acknowledged throughout the union, it is proper to enquire into the productiveneſs of the revenue ariſing from it, and the expediency of continuing it. It is not my object to make any obſervations on the general principles of an exciſe ſyſtem, its ſuitableneſs to, or practicability in, this country; but if it is true that, notwithſtanding the frequent reviſions of the law, this tax does not yield 100,000 dollars as net revenue,* that from ſome ſtates, where it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe a conſiderable quantity of thoſe ſpirits are manufactured and conſumed, after an experiment of five years, little or no revenue can be procured, though the officers receive their ſalaries for collecting it. If it is true that nearly one-third of this revenue is neceſſarily expended in the collection of it, and that the comparative quantity of ſpirits diſtilled is decreaſing, and the importation and conſumption of ſpirits and other liquors have rapidly in-

* So much of the amount of this revenue, as it is ſtated in the official reports, depends on eſtimates for which the data are not certain, and the drawbacks for that year not being fully aſcertained, theſe ſtatements may not be perfectly accurate; but, by the official ſtatements for the year ending with June 1795, the produce of the exciſe on domeſtic ſpirits amounts to about 140,000 dollars, for the year 1792, the expence of collecting amounted to more than 41,000 dollars, excluſive of the additional expence occaſioned by it in the accounting offices of the treaſury department; adding this, and including the expence of new, though unproductive diſtricts ſince erected, the whole expence of collecting cannot be eſtimated at leſs than 45,000 dollars per annum; taking this from 140,000 dollars, leaves 95,000 dollars to the revenue; but this being ſtill liable to drawbacks on the revenue for exportation, ſtating that the expence of collection is equal to half the nett proceeds of the revenue muſt be pretty near the truth.

creaſed, ſince the commencement of the exciſe on domeſtic ſpirits;* I ſay if theſe things are true, it may ſoon be proper for the legiſlature to enquire whether ſo ſmall an amount of revenue is a ſufficient object for the employment of ſuch a number of officers, and for occaſioning ſo much diſcontent in thoſe parts of the union, which are increaſing moſt rapidly in population.

It is proper to examine whether even this ſmall amount of revenue may not prove a ſource of jealouſy, and eventually alienate the affections and confidence of one part of the citizens from the other. It is no unreaſonable conjecture to ſuppoſe, that a criſis may happen in the courſe of human events, when this alienation may occaſion very diſagreeable conſequences, which by ſeaſonable arrangements might be prevented.

A riotous oppoſition to the exciſe law in one ſurvey has already coſt the United States more money, than will probably be produced by that tax from the whole United States, when it has been ten years in operation; and though it is to be expected that the diſplay of the power of government in enforcing ſubmiſſion to the laws in that inſtance may long prevent the neceſſity of another expedition, either to protect the officers of government, or to puniſh offenders againſt its laws, yet it muſt be acknowledged that this tremendous and expenſive remedy will not be adequate to prevent evaſions of the law in ſo wide an extent of territory, where the prepoſſeſſions againſt it are general. If the levying an exciſe on this, and all other manufactures in the country, would produce a ſufficient revenue to prevent the neceſſity of a direct tax, it would afford a ſtrong argument to thoſe who are oppoſed to direct taxes, in favour of continuing and extending exciſes; but when it is diſcovered that ſome of them, for inſtance the exciſe on ſnuff, will not produce perhaps as much in a year as would pay the expence of making the

* By the official report, it appears that from the year 1791, in which the exciſe on ſpirits from domeſtic materials commenced, till the year 1794, the quantity of imported ſpirits increaſed from 3,678,199 gallons, to 5,690,369 gallons, an increaſe of nearly two-fifths in the courſe of two years; and that the importation of wines, porter and beer, has increaſed in a much greater proportion,

law, and that now, when a tax of 1,200,000 dollars appears to be abſolutely neceſſary, the greateſt advocatees for exciſes cannot lay their hand on ſubjects for ſuch taxes, it is time to enquire whether it is proper to perſiſt in that courſe of taxation.

It will not do for us to depend on raiſing effective revenues from exciſes on manufactures, as ſome nations in Europe do. In theſe nations a great proportion of the wealth of the country is veſted in manufactures, and from them their exports are produced; but in our country, where manufactures are in their infancy, and but a ſmall amount of capital veſted in them, and where the wealth of the inhabitants conſiſts chiefly in land and objects of agriculture, or is employed in a commerce which is ſupported by agriculture; land itſelf with the ſtock that is employed on it, and commerce, muſt be the dernier reſort for efficient revenues. If any aid can be drawn from manufactures, I ſuſpect it cannot be procured to any conſiderable extent in the mode of exciſes. If this circumſtance had been ſeaſonably adverted to, when the ſtate debts were aſſumed, &c. by thoſe who are moſt obſtinately oppoſed to direct taxes, ſo great an amount of revenue would not have been neceſſary; but in the preſent ſtate of our finances we cannot put off direct taxes much longer, and when they come, as come they muſt, the writer will not avoid his ſhare of the public burthens. If he ſtudied only his own intereſt, exciſes would to him be the moſt favourable mode of taxation, as the proportion, he would pay in that way, would be much leſs than would fall to his ſhare by a direct tax.

NOTE [A] p. 183.

We aſked Mr. M'Farlane if he would permit the office to be kept in his houſe, if general Nevil ſhould be the officer;

he anſwered, that if he was the officer, he was perſonally ſo obnoxious to the people, that it would be more prudent for him to keep it for ſome time in Pittſburgh, where the garriſon was; but that any perſon not equally obnoxious might open an office with ſafety in any part of the country. We did not mention general Nevil's name to the Preſident.

FINIS.